TIMES OF REFRESHMENT

A STUDY OF ESCHATOLOGICAL PERIODIZATION IN JUDAISM AND CHRISTIANITY

A Summary of a Thesis presented by

William Lister Lane

This thesis has been concerned to define what is distinctive in the primitive Christian understanding of its position on the eschatological time-table. The task has been one of examining fossils, certain minute portions of the New Testament like Acts 3:19-21 or the Freer Logion which are practically the only vestiges of an early concern to articulate through periodization how what happened through Jesus and the Spirit had altered traditional patterns of expectation. To bring the material into focus attention has been given both to the background and the foreground of the material in terms of Jewish patterns of hope for Israel during the Hellenistic-Roman period. The goal of the investigation has been to understand the theological significance of the patterns of periodization which emerged within Judaism in a sectarian apocalyptic framework, within the

early Jerusalem Community and among the Tannaim of the Jamnia period.

The initial chapter set forth the structure of hope entertained for Israel in the Hellenistic and early Roman period. Inspite of diversity in terminology and vividness of conception, Judaism stated its ultimate hope for the future in terms of an age which stands in successive but antithetic relationship to this age. Periodization first occurs in a sectarian apocalyptic context, where it becomes a significant device for expressing a consciousness of the manifestation of the powers of the new age in an anticipatory way. But the age to come remained intact and exempt from these early instances of periodization.

The question of the relative primitiveness of early Christian periodization was posed in the second chapter, and answered in the light of primitive elements within the speech in Acts 3 which forms the immediate context of the distinctive formulations of vv.19-21. The New Testament material was then examined in chapter three against the background of an early concern with the eschatological time-table. The unusual phrase "times of refreshment" in Acts 3:20 is to be understood in the light of an interpretive tradition of Isa. 32:15 which is now extant only in the translation of Symmachus, but which appears to be pre-Lucan. In this tradition the promised "Spirit from on high" was translated in

terms of the refreshment which the Spirit brings. It is the conviction of having advanced on the time-table to a new period characterized by the presence of the Spirit together with the delay of the consummation which is articulated in this expression. The consummation itself is seen as the Days of the Messiah, not only in Acts 3:20-21 but also in the Freer Logion, an independent fragment of Palestinian tradition which reflects on the period following the resurrection of Jesus in terms of the messianic woes which precede the Days of the Messiah.

The response of Pharisaism to the failure of the first Revolt against Rome, was seen from the perspective of two traditions in chapter four, the apocalyptic tradition of IV Ezra and II Baruch and the haggadic tradition of the Tannaim of the second generation and later. The response in both traditions assumed the form of modifying earlier patterns of hope for Israel through periodization. In both traditions the Days of the Messiah are assigned to a penultimate position, subordinate to the age to come, and in chapter five evidence was presented which seeks to account for this fact through a reaction to militant messianism. The final chapter of the thesis was concerned with the theological significance of periodization, both Jewish and Christian.

The range of theological significance in periodization can be seen from the material which has been examined.

In the Apocalypse of Weeks periodization allowed an expectation of a time in which the ultimate vindication of the elect of God at the time of the Final Judgment would be manifested in an anticipatory way, though the consummation and ultimate judgment delayed. The assurance of God's concern with the righteous is part of the theodicy character of apocalyptic. At Qumran the sense of being thrust into the final period of the present age, and perhaps the final phase of that period, was due to the conviction that the powers of the age to come were already manifesting themselves in an anticipatory way in the Community. To the Teacher with revelatory insights, to whom the Spirit had been given, it was clear that the prophetic Scriptures were being fulfilled in the experience of the Community. Periodization was the apocalyptic sectarian device for expressing a high degree of anticipation of the consummation when the Community would be vindicated and would become the Community of the Spirit.

In primitive Christianity periodization was the result of reflection upon the general bestowal of the Spirit upon the Community together with the fact of delay in the consummation. The relatively higher degree of anticipation in the primitive Christian Community as compared with Qumran is to be seen in the relative degree of awareness of the Spirit. At Qumran the Teacher <u>has</u> <u>received</u> the Spirit, and this is a pledge that the Community <u>will</u> <u>receive</u> the Spirit.

Within the Jerusalem Community there is an awareness that the promised general bestowal of Spirit has been fulfilled, initiating times of refreshment in which the Community alone participates, but which may come to Israel through radical repentance. The parousia of the Messiah, who is Jesus, will terminate the present period and initiate the consummation as the Days of the Messiah. To Paul also the present period was advanced upon the eschatological time-table, and through the Spirit the powers of the age to come were at work. But it was to this period that Paul assigned the Days of the Messiah, which at the parousia would be followed by age to come in which the Kingdom of God is ultimate.

In IV Ezra the Days of the Messiah are also penultimate but end in death and silence before the saving age to come brings new life to the people of God. In II Baruch the Days of the Messiah begin in this age but extend into the age to come in a true overlapping of the two ages. The powers of the age to come not only manifest themselves in an anticipatory way in the Days of the Messiah but so effectively erode the present age that the age to come breaks through in an ultimate sense in this period. In II Baruch the penultimate character of the Days of the Messiah does not materially affect the ultimate significance which had been given to this period in the militant messianism of the First Revolt. The Tannaim of the second generation, like R. Johanan ben Zakkai,

R. Joshua and R. Eliezer ben Hyrkanus tended to support the non-political significance of messianism, but a generation later Akiba could again endorse a political messiahship of penultimate position on the time-table.

In the Apocalypse of Weeks, in IV Ezra, II Baruch and the Tannaitic traditions periodization represents a modification in expectation, but not an advance upon the time-table. The period of proleptic vindication, or of the Days of the Messiah yet lay in the future, beyond which was the consummation itself. At Qumran and within the primitive Christian Community periodization represents both a modification in expectation and a sense of advance upon the eschatological time-table. The relative degree of advance may be measured by the specific degree of awareness to the Spirit within the Community, but the difference is a relative, not an absolute one. The expectation of a general bestowal of the Spirit upon the Covenanters of Qumran had been fulfilled in the Jerusalem Community, and in this sense the primitive Christian Community manifested a higher degree of anticipation of the new age than is present at Qumran. It is this conviction which is expressed when the Community speaks of times of refreshment.

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PREFACE

The concern of this thesis is to define what is distinctive in the primitive Christian understanding of its place on the eschatological time-table. The task has been one of examining fossils, certain minute portions of the New Testament material like Acts 3:19-21 or the Freer Logion which could be overlooked, but which are practically the only vestiges of an early concern to articulate how what had happened through Jesus and the Spirit had altered traditional patterns of expectation. To bring the material into focus an examination has been made of the patterns of hope expressed for Israel during the Hellenistic-Roman period, and of the modification by which old hopes were brought into conformity with contemporary reality after the destruction of Jerusalem. No attempt has been made to pursue the question of periodization in terms of the larger issues of New Testament eschatology or of the eschatological teaching of Jesus. The goal of this study has been more modest, to understand the theological significance of the pattern of periodization within the early Jerusalem Community and within the Pharisaic Community of the Jamnia period.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ABR	=	Australian Biblical Review.
AJTh	=	American Journal of Theology.
APOT	=	Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament, I-II, ed. R. H. Charles (1913).
ATR	=	Anglican Theological Review.
BA	=	Biblical Archeologist.
BASOR	=	Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research.
BC	=	Beginnings of Christianity, Part I, I-V, ed. F. J. Foakes-Jackson and K. Lake (1922-1933).
BJRL	=	Bulletin of the John Rylands Library.
BS	=	Bibliotheca Sacra.
BZ	=	Biblische Zeitschrift.
CBQ	=	Catholic Biblical Quarterly.
CDA	=	C. C. Torrey, Composition and Date of Acts (1916).
DB	=	Dictionnaire de la Bible.
DB Suppl	=	Dictionnaire de la Bible, Supplement.
Discoveries I	=	Discoveries in the Judean Desert. I. Qumran Cave I, ed. D. Barthélemy and J. T. Milik (1955).
DThC	=	Dictionnaire de théologie catholique.
EphThLov	=	Ephemerides theologicae lovanienses.

ET	=	Expository Times.
Exp	=	Expositor.
Geschichte[4]	=	E. Schuerer, Geschichte des juedischen Volkes im Zeitalter Jesu Christi, 4. Auflage, 1909.
HTR	=	Harvard Theological Review.
HUCA	=	Hebrew Union College Annual.
JBL	=	Journal of Biblical Literature.
JE	=	Jewish Encyclopedia.
JJS	=	Journal of Jewish Studies.
JNES	=	Journal of Near Eastern Studies.
JQR	=	Jewish Quarterly Review.
JTS	=	Journal of Theological Studies.
MGWJ	=	Monatsschift fuer Geschichte und Wissenschaft des Judentums.
NGG	=	Nachrichten von der Gesellschaft der Wissenschaft zu Goettingen.
NJKA	=	Neue Jahrbuecher fuer das klassische Altertum, Geschichte und deutsche Literatur und fuer Paedagogik.
NTSt	=	New Testament Studies.
Pauly RE	=	Real-Encyclopaedie der klassischen Altertumswissenschaften.
PTR	=	Princeton Theological Review.
RAC	=	Reallexikon fuer Antike und Christentum.
RB	=	Revue Biblique.
REJ	=	Revue des études juives.
Rhein. Mus.	=	Rheinische Museum fuer Philologie.

RHPhR	=	Revue d'historire et de philosophie religieuses.
RScR	=	Revue des sciences religieuses.
RThPh	=	Revue de théologie et de philosophie.
SbBA	=	Sitzungsberichte der Berliner Akademie der Wissenschaft (Phil.-hist. kl.)
Str-B	=	(H. L. Strack und) P. Billerbeck, Kommentar zum Neuen Testament aus Talmud und Midrasch, I-IV:2 (1922-28).
SvEA	=	Svensk Exegetisk Årsbok.
ThLZ	=	Theologische Literaturzeitung.
ThR	=	Theologische Rundschau.
ThStKr	=	Theologische Studien und Kritiken.
TWNT	=	Theologisches Woerterbuch zum Neuen Testament, ed. G. Kittel-G. Friedrich (1933-).
VD	=	Verbum Domini.
VT	=	Vetus Testamentum
ZAW	=	Zeitschrift fuer die altestamentliche Wissenschaft.
ZNW	=	Zeitschrift fuer die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft.
ZsystTh	=	Zeitschift fuer systematische Theologie
ZwissTh	=	Zeitschrift fuer wissenschaftliche Theologie.

CHAPTER I

THE STRUCTURE OF THE EXCHATOLOGICAL HOPE OF ISRAEL WITHIN JUDAISM

The reading in the Temple and synagogue of the Torah and Haftorah, together with the Targum, the recital of the liturgy within the festival calendar, the prayers which were uttered daily both privately and publicly, and the teaching of the scribes kept before the Jew of the first century that God had a purpose for Israel which had not yet been fully realized. Redemptive associations clustered particularly about the feasts of Passover and Tabernacles, where the rehearsal of the events of the Exodus called forth hopes that the prophetic promise of a second, and greater, Exodus would be fulfilled.[1] To judge by Roman administrative policy, even

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[1]E.g. Ps. 44:1-8, 23-26; Ps. 66; Isa. 63:7-19; Jer. 2: 6-7; Ezek. 20:30-44.

For the eschatological motifs associated with the Passover see H. Odeburg's reconstruction of the Passover meal and its prayers, "Den heliga påskmåltiden," Erevna 5 (1948), 14f., L. Morris, "The Passover in Rabbinic Literature," ABR 4 (1954/55), 57-74, and esp. the prayer of Akiba at Passover, M. Pesaḥ. X. 6 (on which see G. Beer, Pesachim 1912 , 196-198); Tos. Pesaḥ. X. 9, 12; Targ. Jer. I to Ex. 12:42; Mekhilta to Ex. 12:42 (ed. Horowitz-Rabin, p. 52); b. R. H. 10b, 11b.

the pagan in Palestine was aware of these associations. The center of Roman administration was Caesarea, which Herod had rebuilt to be a replica of Rome on Palestinian soil where Roman fashions could be aped. But on the occasion of the festivals the Roman authorities exchanged their residence in Caesarea for Jerusalem. It was in connection with the festivals that the popular uprisings could be expected, with Jerusalem and the Temple as the focal point for any disturbance.[2] Israel entertained a vivid hope of God's intervention and redemption, which was merely intensified by the presence of the Romans.[3]

While Israel's hope could be expressed in such comprehensive terms as "the consolation of Israel,"[4] or "the re-

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For the eschatological motifs associated with Tabernacles see H. Bornhaeuser, Sukka (Laubhuettenfest) 1935, 136f.; H. Riesenfeld, Jesus Transfigure (1947), 24-65, esp. 35ff. with the texts cited there; S. Aalen, Licht und Finsternis (1951), 256f.

[2]Cf. Jos. B. J. II. xii. 1, συνελήλυθότος γὰρ τοῦ πλήθους ἐπὶ τὴν ἑορτὴν τῶν ἀζύμων εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα καὶ τῆς Ῥωμαϊκῆς σπείρας ὑπὲρ τὴν τοῦ ἱεροῦ στοὰν ἐφεστώσης, ἔνοπλοι δ' ἀεὶ τὰς ἑορτὰς παραφυλάττουσιν ὡς μή τι νεωτερίσοι τὸ πλῆθος ἠθροισμένον. See B.J. II. ix. 2-4; xii. 1-7; VI. v.3; Ant.XVIII.ii.2; iii.1-2; ix.3; XX.i.1-2; v.1-4; vi.1-3; Lk.13:1-3; Acts 21:27ff., for other instances of trouble at the feasts of Passover and Tabernacles, and the Roman policy displayed on these occasions. See further, E. Stauffer, "Agnostos Christos" in The Background of the New Testament and Its Eschatology (1956), 285. For Caesarea as the military headquarters for the procurators see A. Legendre, "Procurateurs Romains," DB V (1912), 690f.; T. D. Bernard, "Caesarea," ET 13 (1902), 487-490; 558-561.

[3]E.g. Ps. Sol. 17:23ff.; 18:6ff., composed in the fifth decade B.C., shortly after Rome had added Judea to its vast empire. On these passages see below, pp.10-12.

[4]E.g. II Bar. 44:7; 81:1; Targ. Jer. I to Gen. 49:1;

demption of Israel,"[5] the manner in which that hope was to be defined was not static. Many passages which express hope are vague. Those which show concreteness display diversity in expression and conception.[6]

I. One type of expectation looked to the glorification and vindication of Israel as the people of God, marked by the return of the dispersed Jews to Palestine and the conversion of the Gentiles, who bring gifts to Jerusalem. This hope, which is found in Isaiah 60, is developed in Tobit, which appears to be pre-Maccabean in date. It may be set forth in four movements.

(1) God will deliver His people from chastisement and bondage (Tobit 13:1ff.).

(2) The Jews of the dispersion will be returned to Jerusalem (Tobit 13:7-10, 13; 14:5,7).

Targ. to II Sam. 23:3,4; Isa. 4:3; 33:20; Jer. 31:6. See O. Schmitz and G. Staehlin, art. παρακαλέω, παράκλησις, TWNT V (1954), 788-790, 797; Str. B II (1924), 124-126. Cf. the expression יום הנחמה in Mekhilta to Ex. 16:32 (ed. Horowitz-Rabin, p. 171).

[5] Cf. Isa.52:9; I Enoch 51:2; Lk.2:38; 21:38; b. Meg. 15a, 17 ; Midrash Cant.II.13 (100b); Targ. Jer.I to Num.25:12; and esp. the coins of the first and second Revolts inscribed in the old Phoenecian script L'Geulat Israel or L'Geulat Zion. See A. Reifenberg, Israel's History in Coins (1953), 31 (#25), 39 (#43).

[6] The point is well made by C. Steuernagel, "Die Strukturlinien der Entwicklung der juedischen Eschatologie," Festschrift Alfred Bertholet (1950), 478f., 487. See further P. Volz Die Eschatologie der juedischen Gemeinde (1934), 63-77; M. Smith, "What is Implied by the Variety of Messianic Figures?" JBL 78 (1959), 66-72.

Then go and be exceeding glad for the sons of the righteous:
For they shall all be gathered together,
And bless the everlasting Lord (13:13).

And God will have mercy on them, and God will bring them back into the land of Israel, and they will again build the house of the Lord, but not like the first, until the time when the time of the seasons be fulfilled; and afterward they will return, all of them, from their captivity, and build up Jerusalem with honor, and the house of God shall be builded in her, even as the prophets of Israel spake concerning her (14:5).

All the children of Israel that are delivered in those days, remembering God in truth, shall be gathered together and come to Jerusalem and shall dwell forever in the land of Abraham with security, and it shall be given over to them (14:7).

(3) The Gentiles will be converted and will bring to Jerusalem their riches. (Tobit 13:11; 14:6-7).

A bright light shall shine unto all the ends of the earth; Many nations shall come from afar,
and the inhabitants of the utmost ends of the earth unto thy holy name
With their gifts also in their hands unto the King of heaven (13:11).

And all the nations which are in the whole earth, all shall turn and fear God truly, and all shall leave their idols, who err after their false error. And they shall bless the everlasting God in righteousness (14:6-7).

(4) The New Jerusalem will be built with heavenly splendor (Tobit 13:16-17).

And the gates of Jerusalem shall be builded with sapphire and emerald,
And all the walls with precious stone,
And the towers of Jerusalem shall be builded with gold,
And their battlements with pure gold.
The streets of Jerusalem shall be paved
With ruby and stones of Ophir.

The age which Tobit anticipates will be marked by national deliverance and prosperity, and Judaism will become the uni-

versal religion. This hope is "messianic" only in the sense that there occur here distinctive features which elsewhere are associated with the Days of the Messiah. But in this expectation there is no mention of a Messiah. God Himself is the deliverer of His people. These expectations, which were particularly meaningful to the diaspora Jews, are also found in the writings of Philo of Alexandria. Without mentioning a personal messianic figure Philo treats extensively what later Jewish tradition described as the messianic age when he comments especially upon the blessings promised to those who obey the commandments of God.[7]

(1) There will be a reunion of the exiled.

> The Lord thy God . . . will gather thee again out of all the nations among which the Lord hath dispersed thee, though thy dispersion may have been from one end of the earth to the other . . . thence thy God will bring thee, into the land which thy fathers possessed, and thou shalt possess it (Deut. 30:3-5).
>
> When they have gained the unexpected liberty, those who now were scattered in Greece and the outside world over islands and continents will arise and post from every side with one impulse to the one appointed place (Praem. 29, 165, cf. 28, 164).

(2) This reunion will be followed by national prosperity in the homeland to which they have returned.

> When they have arrived, the cities which now lay in ruins will be cities once more; the desolate land will be inhabited; the barren will change into fruitfulness; all the prosperity of their fathers and ancestors will seem a tiny fragment, so lavish will be the abundant riches in their

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[7] Cf. Lev. 26:3-13; Deut. 28:1-14; 30:1-10.

> possession, which flowing from the gracious bounties of God as from a perrenial fountain will bring to each individually and to all in common a deep stream of wealth leaving no room for envy (Praem. 29, 169).

(3) There will be a reign of peace between men and between men and beasts (Praem. 14, 79-86, 94).

(4) The unrepentant enemies of Israel will be punished by God.

> Everything will be reversed, God will turn the curses against the enemies of these penitents, the enemies who rejoiced in the misfortunes of the nation and mocked and railed at them . . . who have mocked at their lamentations, proclaimed public holidays on the days of their misfortunes, feasted on their mourning, in general made the unhappiness of others their own happiness (Praem. 29, 169-171).

(5) Judaism will be accepted as the one true worship. The Mosaic Law, which Philo declared to be eternal (Vita Mos. II, 3, 14), will continue to exist during the Messianic Age, and will triumph over other customs and laws.

> I think each nation would abandon its peculiar ways, and throwing overboard their ancestral customs, turn to honoring our laws alone, for, when the brightness of their shining is accompanied by national prosperity, it will darken the light of others as the risen sun darkens the stars (Vita Mos. II, 7, 44).

The fulfilment of this expectation will be marked by the Gentiles abandoning their idolatry and their customs so that, in effect, they become full proselytes.

II. A second type of expectation is found in the documents of sectarian community which withdrew to Khirbet Qumran to establish an Essene center in the wilderness in the

late second century B.C.[8] The hope entertained by the sect was messianic, but not in a sense that was exhausted by any single figure. That the sect anticipated the coming of at least two figures to whom the term משיח was proper was made clear from the Manual of Discipline.

> And they [the members of the Qumran Community] shall be ruled by the first laws with which the men of the community began to be disciplined until the coming of a Prophet and the Messiahs [or: Anointed Ones] of Aaron and Israel (1QS ix. 10-11).[9]

In the Serek ha-ʿedah (1QSa),[10] which depicts the eschatological congregation of Israel according to Essene expectation, there is a description of what appears to be the Messianic Banquet.[11] The meal is an exact counterpart to the communal

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[8]Following the reconstruction of the evidence by F. M. Cross, Jr., The Ancient Library of Qumran and Modern Biblical Studies (1958), 88-107. See further the discussion of the date of CD and 1QS in P. Wernberg-Møller, The Manual of Discipline (1957), 17-18, and the literature cited there.

[9]On this passage see M. Burrows, "The Messiahs of Aaron and Israels," ATR 34 (1952), 203-206; N. Wieder, "The Doctrine of the Two Messiahs among the Karaites," JJS 6 (1955), 14-25; L. H. Silbermann, "The 'Two Messiahs' of the Manual of Discipline," VT 5 (1955), 77-82; K. Schubert, "Zwei Messiasse aus dem Regelbuch von Chirbet Qumran," in Festschrift fuer Prof. Viktor Christian. Vorderasiatischen Studien (1956), 93-99; E. Bammel, "Zu 1QS 9, 10f.," VT 7 (1957), 381-385. Cf. G. Margoliouth, "The Two Zadokite Messiahs," JTS 12 (1910-11), 446-450.

[10]Edited by D. Barthélemy in Discoveries in the Judean Desert. I, Cave 1 (1955), 108-118.

[11]The last sentence, "And they shall follow this order whenever the meal is arranged, whenever as many as ten meet together" (1QSa ii. 21f.) suggests that what is described is an

meal of the Qumran Covenanters, as described in 1QS vi.4-6. The description is important for its reference to two anointed figures, the priestly Messiah of Aaron and the royal Messiah of Israel.

> And the Priest, the Anointed One, shall come with them, for he is the head of the entire Congregation of Israel; and before him sit the sons of Aaron, the priests; and the conveners of the assembly, the honored men, shall sit before him, each according to his place of rank.
>
> And then shall come the Messiah of Israel and before him shall sit the heads of the tribes, each according to his place of honor, according to their [. . .] in their camps and their march formations; and all the heads of the houses of the Congregation, together with the wise men of Israel shall sit before them, each according to his own proper place of rank (1QSa. ii. 12-17).

The concept of two anointed leaders, one a priest from Aaron's line, and the second a royal figure from Judah's line, is known also from the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs.[12]

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order in which the Community anticipates liturgically the Messianic Banquet. For a dissenting voice see M. Smith, op. cit., 71f.

[12]See esp. Test. Levi 18:2-4, the hymn to the Anointed High Priest of Levi's line, and Test. Judah 24, the hymn to the Royal Messiah of Judah's line, with which should be compared 1QS v.20-29. Cf. G. Beasely-Murray, "The Two Messiahs in the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs," JTS 48 (1947), 1-12.

On the relationship of the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs to the sectarian documents from Qumran see A. Dupont-Sommer, "Le Testament de Lévi (XVII-XVIII) et la secte juive de l'Alliance," Semitica (1952), 33-53; B. Otzen, "Die neugefundenen hebraeischen Sektenschriften und die Testamente des zwoelf Patriarchen," Studia Theologica 7 (1954), 125-157; K. G. Kuhn, "The Two Messiahs of Aaron and Israel," in The Scrolls and the New Testament (ed. K. Stendahl, 1957), 54-60;

Here too the anointed priest (ben Levi) is given precedence over the anointed king (ben Judah). Judah is made to say:

> To me God has given the kingship, and to him [Levi] the priesthood; and the kingship he has subordinated to the priesthood. To me he gave the things upon the earth, to him the things in the heavens. As the heaven is higher than the earth, so is the priesthood of God higher than the earthly kingship . . . (Test. Judah 21:2-5).

The concept of two messianic figures, a priestly Messiah and a royal Messiah, expresses the distinction between the priestly and political office which was integral to Jewish tradition before the reign of the Hasmonean priest-princes,[13] and may be intended as a strong denial of the legitimacy of the double office held by the Hasmonean rulers. In the sub-

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and most recently M. Philonenko, Les interpolations chrétiennes des Testaments des Douze Patriarches et les manuscrits de Qumrân (1960).

[13]It is clear that the High Priest exercised political functions from the time of the Persian period down into the Greek period, unless for some purpose these were relinquished, as in the case of the High Priest Onias II (in 242 B.C.). But the distinction between the two offices was implicitly recognized in the fact that the High Priest never sought the royal title, and when the office became divided, as in the time of Oniads and Tobiads, it was inconceivable that the Oniad High Priest should relinquish his priestly office for the political one. He was a priest first, and a secular ruler only secondarily.

With the conferral of the high-priesthood and governorship upon Simon and his sons in perpetuity (I Macc. 14:35-49), with the assumption first of the title prince, and then under Aristobulus I the title of king, this distinction was erased. For an overt criticism of the priestly line assuming royal prerogatives assigned to the House of David see Ps. Sol. 17:5-8. See further H. J. Schoeps, "Die Opposition gegen die Hasmonaeer," ThLZ 81 (1956), cols. 667-670.

ordination of the royal figure of the priestly Messiah, however, there appears to be a projection of the priestly character of the Essene movement itself.[14]

III. A third type of eschatological hope comes to expression in the Psalms of Solomon. The historical crisis to which these psalms are a response was the forceful entry of Pompey and the Romans into Jerusalem when armed conflict between Hyrcanus II and Aristobulus II invited Roman intervention into Judean affairs. Hyrcanus opened the gates of the Upper City of Jerusalem to the Roman general Gabinius, but Aristobulus and his supporters refused to admit the Romans into the Lower City. The Romans overcame the forces of Aristobulus, and brought death or enslavement to large numbers of Jews and humiliation to the nation as a whole.[15] In these psalms the Pharisees, the political quietists of the day, speak. The party in power has abused its high office and has brought great harm to the state, usurping unlawful prerogatives, including the kingship (Ps. Sol. 17:5-8). The psalmist awaits the fulfilment of the promises of God (12:7), particularly the promise concerning the Davidic Messiah (17: 23ff.; 18:6ff.) who will fulfill the prophetic ideal of rule

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[14]So Cross, op. cit., 62-66, 96, 165.

[15]Jos. B. J. I.vi.2-vii.7; Ant.XIV.iii.2-iv.4; Dio Cassius xxxvii.15-16; Cicero, Pro Flacco 67. Cf. Ps. Sol. 2:1-3, 30f.; 7:2; 8:7-29; 17:5-8, 10-14.

based not on material strength, but on the power of God (17:37). After describing the lamentable condition of Jerusalem humbled under foreign rule, he cries out:

> Behold, O Lord, and raise up to them their king, the Son of David, At the time in which thou seest, O God, that he may reign over Israel thy servant (17:23).

The Messiah's rule is described in terms of the fulfilment of the second Psalm.[16] He will purge from Jerusalem the heathen nations which have tainted her holiness:

> He shall thrust out sinners from the inheritance
> He shall destroy the pride of the sinner as a potter's vessel. With a rod of iron he shall break in pieces all their substance, He shall destroy the godless nations with the word of his mouth (17:25f.).

After Jerusalem has been purged the godly Jews will be gathered out of the nations of their dispersion and will be reestablished in the land according to their ancient tribal inheritance. The land will be pure from aliens or sojourners in that day; the heathen nations will be enslaved to Israel and her Messiah (17:28-35). The royal Messiah will rule over the righteous Israelites in a glorified land:

> And he shall be a righteous King, taught by God, over them, And there shall be no unrighteousness in his days in their midst, For he shall be holy, and their king, the Messiah, the Lord. For he shall not put his trust into horse and rider and bow, Nor shall he multiply to himself gold or silver for war, Nor shall he gather confidence from a multitude for the day of battle. The Lord himself is his king, the hope of him who is mighty through his

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[16] With this use of Ps. 2 in an eschatological context may now be compared a second pre-Christian text, 4Q Florilegium i. 18-19, published by J. M. Allegro, "Fragments of a Qumran Scroll of Eschatological Midrāšîm," JBL 77 (1958), 354.

hope of God (17:35-38).

This expectation was to be fulfilled in a royal figure, the Son of David, who would restore to Israel the glories of the reign of David. His anointed (messianic) character is seen in the fact that he is holy, taught by God Himself, and that he exercises the power of God. He does not extend Israel's boundaries through conquest, as David had done, but through his spoken word. The designation of him as χριστὸς κύριος (17:36),[17] should this prove to be original, suggests an exalted royal messianic concept.

IV. A fourth type of eschatological hope was centered in the expectation of a hidden Messiah (messias absconditus). One form of this hope occurs in the Parables section of I Enoch,[18] where there appears a messianic figure

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[17]G. B. Gray in APOT II (1913), 650 translates the expression "the anointed of the Lord," after the analogy of the Greek expression, χριστὸς κυρίου, in 18:6. But both the Greek and Syriac text would suggest the rendering Christ, the Lord, analogous to Lk. 2:11. For χριστὸς κύριος in the LXX see Lam. 4:20. On the whole problem see the critical note of H. E. Ryle and M. R. James, Psalms of the Pharisees (1891), 141-143.

[18]That the Parables section of I Enoch, ch. 37-71, is missing from the Aramaic fragments of Enoch found at Cave 4 in Qumran, has led to the conjecture that this section is the work of a Jewish-Christian of the second century A.D. who was concerned to portray the Son of Man. So J. T. Milik, Dix Ans de découvertes dans le désert de Juda (1950), 30f.; F. M. Cross, op. cit., 150 n.7. The argument that the Parables are essentially a Christian composition was earlier put forth by A. Hilgenfeld, "Der Menschensohn-Messias," ZwissTh 35 (1892), 445 ff., and more recently by J. Y. Campbell, "The Origin and Meaning of the Term Son of Man," JTS 48 (1947), 146-148,

hidden with God, but who shall be revealed at an appointed time. Designated "the Son of Man," the mysterious transcendent figure of Dan. 7:13f., he is first mentioned in I Enoch 46:2ff., in a context which clearly reveals the influence of Daniel:

> And there I saw One who had a head of days,
> And his head was white like wool,
> And with him was another being whose countenance had the appearance of a man,
> And his face was full of graciousness, like one of the holy angels.
> And I asked the angel who went with me and showed me all the hidden things concerning that Son of Man, who he was, and whence he was, and why he went with the Head of Days. And he answered and said unto me:
> This is the Son of Man who hath righteousness,
> with whom indwelleth righteousness
> And who revealeth all the treasures of that which is hidden (46:1-3).

The passages which follow describe the work and character of the Son of Man, and speak of his hiddenness:

> And for this reason hath he been chosen and hidden before Him,
> Before the creation of the world and for evermore.
> And the wisdom of the Lord of Spirits hath revealed him to the holy and righteous;
> For he hath preserved the lot of the righteous . . .

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among others. The argument remains unconvincing, even when the silence of Qumran is added to earlier considerations, in the light of the fact that in 71:14-16 the Son of Man is identified with Enoch. Is it conceivable that a Jewish-Christian, writing in the second century, after the publication of the Gospels, would have spoken of the Son of Man and identified him with someone other than Jesus? This counter-argument is incisively urged by M. Black, "The Son of Man in the Old Biblical Literature," ET 60 (1948/49), 12-13; Idem, "The Eschatology of the Similitudes of Enoch," JTS n.s.3 (1952), 2-4. See further on the Jewish character of the whole of I Enoch E. Sjoeberg, Der Menschensohn im aethiopischen Henochbuch (1946), 1-24.

(48:6f).

> And the kings and the mighty and all who possess the earth shall bless and glorify and extol him who rules over all, who was hidden. For from the beginning the Son of Man was hidden, And the Most High preserved him in the presence of His might, And revealed him to the elect (62:6f.).

Twice the Son of Man is called Messiah (48:10; 52:4). His specific function is to raise the dead, to judge the holy and the wicked and to proclaim peace to the righteous when he is revealed.[19] --A variant of this concept of the hidden Messiah is preserved in Justin Martyr's Dialogue with Trypho. In a passage which gives insight into the way in which a diaspora Jew viewed paganism and Christianity, Trypho speaks of a messianic figure who is unknown even to himself, hidden among the masses of humanity.

> It were better for you to continue to hold the philosophy of Plato or some other learned man, practicing the while endurance and self-control and temperance, than to have been completely led away by false speeches, and to follow men of no account. For while you remained in that mode of philosophy and lived a blameless life, a hope was left you of a better fate, but when you have forsaken God and placed your hope on a man what kind of salvation yet remains for you? If, therefore, if you are willing to listen also to me . . . . , first be circumcized, then (as is commanded in the Law) observe the Sabbath, the feasts and the new moons and, in short, do all the things written in the Law, and then perhaps you will find mercy from God. But Messiah, if indeed he has ever been and now exists anywhere, is unknown, and does not even know himself at

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[19] 1 Enoch 51:1; 61:8f.; cf. 71:14-17. A conception of a transcendent Messiah who is hidden with God, but who will be revealed in his own time, similar to that of the Parables of Enoch is found in IV Ezra 7:28-30; 12:31; 13:52, on which see below, pp.232-241.

> all nor has any power, until Elijah shall have come and anointed him, and have made him manifest to all. But you people, by receiving a worthless rumor, shape a kind of Messiah for yourselves, and for his sake are now blindly perishing (Dial. 7:3; cf. 8:4; 49:1; 110:1).

Trypho's Messiah is not the transcendent figure of the Parables of Enoch. He is a man, of ordinary human origin, who will be brought into the drama of the last days only after the return of Elijah to anoint the one designated to be the Messiah.[20]

While these expressions of eschatological expectation do not exhaust the varieties of hope current in Judaism within the Hellenistic-Roman period, they suggest the ferment and diversity in expectation within Judaism. Reflection upon the Scriptures produced a variety of expectations which resist rigid classification[21] in contrast to the monolithic Judaism which tended to emerge in the second century of the present era.

These several expectations share the fact that they were the product of reflection upon the Scriptures interpreted in the light of some facet of Israel's experience. They

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[20]That this is a Jewish conception, and not merely a Christian caricature, see on this passage Str-B IV:2 (1928), 797f.; E. Stauffer, op. cit., 289-291; E. Sjoeberg, "Justin als Zeuge vom Glauben an den verborgenen und den leidenden Messias im Judentum," in Interpretationes ad vetus testamentum (Festschrift S. Mowinckel, 1955), 173-183.

[21]See further Steuernagel, op. cit., 479-487; M. Smith, op. cit., 69-72.

are eschatological in the sense that beyond the realization of these hopes nothing more was imagined. None of these expressions of hope for Israel was conceived merely in terms of a temporary relief of oppression, which could be followed by new reversals and the demand for a newer intervention by God. These expressions of hope shared another unifying feature. The perspective of each was forward-looking, but also extended backward. The confidence that God would intervene was grounded in the fact that God had acted on behalf of His people in the past, and that He had promised to act again. It is this linear characteristic of Israel's hope which invites attention to the structure undergirding this hope. How could a pious Jew who looked forward to redemption express his awareness of standing within a time which had not yet experienced redemption? How could he express the tension between his own time and the time for which he hoped? What variety of terminology was open to him within the ancient Scriptures and the later Jewish literature and tradition to differentiate his time from the time of expectation? These questions are important to an understanding of the structure of the redemptive program of God for Israel which underlies the eschatological hope within first century Judaism. From a New Testament perspective, the answers to these questions will define the limits within which the earliest disciples of Jesus projected their hopes for God's sovereign interven-

tion on behalf of Israel.

A. The Old Testament

The expression which is of fundamental importance for understanding the structure of Israel's hope within the Old Testament, and within later Judaism whenever Old Testament phraseology is employed, is באחרית הימים.[22] Recent studies have cautioned that this phrase is simply a temporal idiom, meaning the future, as opposed to לפנים, the past and that, as distinct from its context, the expression is theologically neutral.[23] What had led earlier studies to see in every occurrence of this expression an eschatological reference was the fact that in Hellenistic-Jewish texts the term אחרית in the expression was translated by some form of ἔσχατος.[24] The expression באחרית הימים or its Ara-

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[22] In the OT the day is the primary unit of time. This is seen not only in Gen. 1, but particularly in the practice of expressing the year by the plural הימים: Ex. 13:10; Judges 17:10; I Sam. 2:19; Isa. 32:10 (cf.29:1). In these passages the year is seen as a collection of days. The phrase אחרית הימים is indicative of the fact that even as the beginning of the course of time is reckoned in days, so it also ends with days. See the discussion of Aalen, op. cit., 43-44, 96. For a careful study of other eschatological expressions in the OT, such as יום נקם, יום יהוה see G. W. Buchanan, The Eschatological Expectations of the Qumran Community, (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Drew Univ., 1959), 112-215, 311-14.

[23] E.g. B. D. Eerdmans, The Religion of Israel (1947), 322-23, and esp. G. W. Buchanan, "Eschatology and the 'End of Days,'" JNES 20 (1961), 188-193.

[24] E.g. G. Vos, The Pauline Eschatology (1952), 1-6, a study which was actually written in 1929.

maic equivalent באחרית יומיא occurs fourteen times in the Old Testament, and is rendered by ἔσχατος τῶν ἡμερῶν once (Deut. 31:29), ἐπ' ἐσχάτου τῶν ἡμερῶν four times,[25] ἐπ' ἐσχάτων τῶν ἡμερῶν seven times,[26] and ἐν ταῖς ἐσχάταις ἡμέραις once (Isa. 2:2).[27] The meaning of ἔσχατος in Hellenistic-Jewish literature, and especially in eschatological contexts, so colored the idomatic temporal expression that the neutral Semitic term came to be viewed as technical, denoting an eschatological context.

Of the thirteen occurrences of this Semitic expression in the Old Testament Gen. 49:1, which forms the heading to a collection of aphorisms known as "Jacob's blessing," will most fruitfully respond to an in-depth study. It is difficult to be certain what באחרית הימים means in its immediate context. Some of the aphorisms within the collection are prophecies of the future, but others convey censure regarding the past, while yet others describe contemporary

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[25] Num.24:14; Jer.23:20; 49:39 [25:19]; Dan. 10:14.

[26] Gen.49:1; Deut.4:30; Jer.37[30]:24; Ezek.38:16; Dan. 2:28; Hos.3:5; Micah 4:1. Add Jer. 48[31]:47 (Q^{mg}).

[27] Buchanan, op. cit., 190, suggests that the LXX translators may have given ἔσχατος a plural form to agree with ἡμερῶν, assuming ἔσχατος to be an adjective, or they may have read their MSS באחרות הימים, in which the yodh was confused with a waw. The term אחרות is found in early Rabbinic texts, M. Demai V.7; Orlah III.5; Ta'anith I.6; Nazir III.6; Abodah Zarah III.9; Parah I.1; Tohoroth I.8 (three occurrences), but never with the temporal expression הימים.

affairs. To understand באחרית הימים even in a general sense to mean "in the future," or "in latter days" would be applicable to all the sayings only to a minor extent. Gerhard von Rad has suggested that the sayings about Zebulun, Issachar, Dan, Gad, Asher, Naphtali, Joseph and Benjamin were not originally understood as prophetic.[28] But the saying about Judah predominates over the other sayings and its prophetic character has led to the use of the future expression באחרית הימים in the heading to the entire collection. In this fact von Rad sees "an interesting example of the way in which one text in the Old Testament might become decisive for a quite definite theological understanding of a larger context."[29]

In its original context there is an indefiniteness in the temporal expression, but in the history of interpretation

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[28] G. von Rad, Genesis (1961), 417, 421-423.

[29] Ibid., 417f. For the discussion of saying concerning Judah (vv.8-12) see 419-21. von Rad feels that it is necessary to hold to the messianic interpretation of the saying. "It foretells the duration of the kingdom in Judah and then after an evident caesura ('until') the coming of a ruler over the nations, which is connected with fertility for the land as in Paradise. Precisely this latter characteristic belongs quite inalienably to the expectation of an 'anointed of Yahweh;' wherever he rules, there is the peace and fertility of Paradise (Isa. 11:1-9; Ezek. 34:23-31; Amos 9:11-15; Ps. 72:16)."

It is certain that the passage was understood in this way in the Hellenistic-Roman period. E.g. 4Q Patriarchal Blessing 11.1-4; Rev.5:5. Cf. Zech. 9:9; Test. of Judah 17:5-6; 22:3; 24:1-25:5.

it is clear that באחרית הימים was translated in a different mood. In those documents influenced by the Genesis passage באחרית הימים is given an eschatological orientation. The pattern of Gen. 49, where the dying patriarch gathers his sons about him that he may instruct them, is imitated in the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs. With the exception of some fragments of Naphtali and Levi,[30] the Aramaic original is lost. The Greek translation of the Testaments preserves five occurrences of a rendering which presupposes באחרית ימים as its Vorlage. While one instance may be discounted,[31] the other four are definitely eschatological, as Judah,

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[30]Both from the Cairo Genizah and from Caves 1 and 4 in Qumran fragments of an Aramaic Testament of Levi and a Hebrew Testament of Naphtali have been recovered. On this material see: H. L. Pass and J. Arendzen, "Fragments of an Aramaic Text of the Testament of Levi," JQR 12 (1899-1900), 651-61; R. H. Charles and A. Cowley, "An Early Source of the Testaments of the Patriarchs," JQR 19 (1906-07), 566-583; J. T. Milik, "Le Testament de Lévi en araméen. Fragment de la grotte 4 de Qumran," RB 62 (1955), 398-406; P. Grelot, "Le Testament araméen de Lévi est-il traduit de l'hébreu? A propos de fragment de Cambridge, col. c 10-d1," REJ 14 (1955), 91-99; Idem, "Notes sur le Testament araméen de Lévi," RB 63 (1956), 391-406. The Semitic material is fuller than the Greek Testaments, and while preliminary study suggests that the Greek Testaments may be a later work patterned after an original Testament of Levi, the evidence is difficult to weigh. A Greek MS of the Testaments dating from the tenth century which is at Mount Athos contains two long additions to the Testament of Levi, a prayer of Jacob and some sacrificial prescriptions. Both are attested in the Aramaic fragments from Cave 4, and the second is attested by the MS from the Cairo Genezah. See further J. T. Milik, Dix Ans, 31f.

[31]Test. Dan. 1:1, "The copy of the words of Dan, which he spoke to his sons ἐπ' ἐσχάτων τῶν ἡμερῶν αὐτοῦ, in the hundred and twenty-fifth year of his life."

Zebulon, Dan and Joseph describe both the evil[32] and the consolation[33] which will mark the future. It is probable that it is the expression באחרית הימים in Gen. 49:1 which has suggested the related expression in the Testaments, where the context is more concretely eschatological than is the Genesis account. These four passages, however, do not exhaust the influence of Gen. 49:1 upon the Testaments. A richly varied terminology expresses the eschatological orientation of other passages within the Testaments.[34] The fact that the Testa-

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[32]Test. Judah 18:1, "And I know what evils you will do ἐν ἐσχάταις ἡμέραις," a statement which follows an assurance that through Judah the kingdom shall be established (17:6; cf. 24:1-25:5).

Test. Dan 5:4, "I know that ἐν ταῖς ἐσχάταις ἡμέραις you shall depart from the Lord," where the expression is defined by the larger context (vv.4-13) which speaks of salvation from the Lord (v.10), the execution of vengeance upon Israel's enemies (v.10), the granting of eternal peace (v.11), the rest in Eden (v.12), the establishment of the New Jerusalem (v.12), with the Lord in the midst of His people forever (v.13).

[33]Test. Zebulun 8:2, "Because ἐπ' ἐσχάτων τῶν ἡμερῶν God will send his compassion upon the Land," qualified by the further statements that where God finds mercy in men He will dwell with them, and they shall experience mercy from him in the Judgment? (vv.2-3).

Test. Joseph 19:10, "And these things shall come to pass in their season, ἐν ἐσχάταις ἡμέραις." What is described is the victory of the apocalyptic lamb which brings joy to both men and angels, and which occasions the establishment of an everlasting kingdom and the proclamation of salvation to Israel (19:1-12).

[34]Thus Test. Reuben 6:8, "the consummation of the times" (τελείωσις χρόνων); Test. Levi 10:2, "in the end of the ages" (ἐν συντελείᾳ τῶν αἰώνων); Test. Zebulun 9:9,

ments owe their form to the account in Gen. 49, with its temporal reference to באחרית הימים, suggests that the eschatological perspective of the work reflects an interpretive tradition based on the presence of this expression in Gen. 49:1. The variety of eschatological terminology within the Testaments is an attempt to concretize the originally indefinite biblical expression.

How definite the expression could become can be seen in the synagogue tradition which has become frozen in the Targumim to the Pentateuch. In contrast to the austerity of Targum Onkelos, with its literal rendering of the Hebrew of Gen. 49:1, Targum Jerusalem I[35] and Jerusalem II[36] introduce a

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"the time of consummation" (καιροῦ συντελείας), with which can be compared the expression יר-שע in Dan. 8:19; 11:35, 40; 12:49. In Test. Issachar 6:1; (cf. Test. Naphtali 8:1 and Test. Benjamin 11:2) there is found the expression "in the last times" (ἐν ἐσχάτοις καιροῖς). See R. H. Charles (ed.), The Greek Versions of the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs (1908).

[35]Cf. J. Bassfreund, Das Fragmenten-Targum zum Pentateuch (1896); M. Ginsburger, Das Fragmententhargum (1899); M. Altschueler, Die Aramaeischen Bibel-Versionen. Vol. I, Genesis (1909); S. Wohl, Das Palaestinische Pentateuch-Thargum. (1935); A. Diez Macho, "Nuevos Fragmentos del Targum Palestinense," Sefarad 15 (1955), 31-39.

A complete copy of this important text has been recently found in the Vatican Library. For the report see A. Diez Machos, "Una copia de todo el Targum jerosolimitano en la Vaticana," Estudios Biblicos 15 (1956), 446-447; Idem, "Una copia completa del Targum Palestinense en la Biblioteca Vaticana," Sefarad 17 (1957), 119-121.

[36]M. Ginsburger, Pseudo-Jonathan 1903; M. Altschueler, op. cit., 153-161 is particularly helpful for the text of the two

midrash at this point which interprets באחרית הימים in terms of the קץ, a technical designation for the messianic age. It will be helpful to see these two targumim in relationship to one another:

Gen. 49:1f. Targum Jer. I	Targum Jer. II
And our father Jacob called his sons, and said to them, Gather together and I will teach you the concealed end,[37] the secret mysteries, the recompense of reward for the righteous, and the punishment of the wicked, and what is the blessedness of Eden.	And Jacob called his sons and said to them, Purify yourselves from uncleanness and I will show you the end concealed,[37] the recompense of reward for the righteous, and the punishment of the wicked, and what the bower of Eden is.
And the twelve tribes of Jacob assembled and surrounded the golden bed on which our father Jacob lay, desiring that he should teach them the end in benediction and consolation.[38]	And the twelve tribes of Israel gathered themselves together around the golden bed on which he lay,
Then was revealed to him the secret which had been hidden from him, and then was opened the door that had been shut to him. Our father Jacob turned therefore and blessed his sons, every man he blessed according to his good.	and where was revealed to him the Shekinah of the Lord (although) the end for which King Messiah is to come had been concealed to him. Then he said, Come, and I will declare to you what shall befall you at the end of days.[39]

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targumim are printed one above the other for easy comparison. See further A. Marmorstein, Studien zum Pseudo-Jonathan Targum (1905).

[37] Jer. I, קיצא גנזיא; Jer. II, קיציא גנזיא
Cf. Dan. 12:13, קץ הימים

[38] קץ ברכתא ונחמתא

[39] בסוף יומיא

v.2 When the twelve tribes of Jacob were assembled, and surrounded the golden bed on which our father Jacob lay, they expected that he would make known to them the order of blessing and consolation:[40] but they were hidden from him. Our father Jacob answered and said to them: From Abraham my father's father arose the profane Ishmael and all the sons of Keturah, and from Isaac my father arose the profane Esau, my brother; and I fear lest there be a man among you whose heart is separated from his brethren to go and worship before strange idols. The twelve tribes of Jacob answered all together, and said, Hear us, Israel our father! The Lord our God is one Lord! And Jacob our father answered and said, May His great Name be blessed forever and ever!

v.2 Gather yourselves together and hear, you sons of Jacob, and receive instruction from Israel your father.

Targ. Jer. II to Deut. 6:4

It happened, when the time came that our father Jacob should be gathered out of the world, that he was anxious lest there might be an idolater among his sons. He called them and questioned them,
Is there such perversity in your hearts?

They answered, all together, and said to him: Hear, Israel our Father: The Lord our God is one Lord! Jacob answered and said, Blessed be His glorious Name forever and ever.

It is clear that the compiler of Targum Jerusalem I has brought together two originally independent midrashim on Jacob's death, and has united them inspite of the fact that the second contradicts the first. That the two midrashim were not originally united is clear not only from the fact that in Targum Jerusalem II the second midrash is found at Deut. 6:4, but from other Rabbinic sources in which one or the other haggadic account appears alone.[41] These several accounts

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[40] סד' ברכתא ונחמתא. Cf. n. 38 above.

[41] For the first midrash see Gen. Rabbah XCVIII.1-3; Aggadat Bereshith 81 (157), 83 (163), and the sources cited

agree in interpreting באחרית הימים in terms of the קץ, the messianic end-time. This is made explicit in the interpretation of Gen. 49:10f., where Onkelos joins the other two Pentateuch Targumim in speaking of the Messiah.

Gen.49:10f. Targum Onkelos	Targum Jer. I.	Targum Jer. II.
He who exercises authority shall not cease rule from the House of Judah nor a scribe from the sons of my sons forever, until Messiah comes to whom belongs the kingdom,[42] and to him the people shall listen. Israel will return to his city. The people shall build his temple. There shall be righteousness round about him and servants of the Law in thousands with him. His clothing will be of fine purple and his	Kings shall not cease nor rulers from the House of Judah nor scribes from teaching the Law from his seed until the time when King Messiah comes, the smallest of his sons, and because of him the Gentiles melt away. How fair is the King Messiah, appointed to arise from the House of Judah. He girds his loins and approaches and orders war with his enemies and kills kings with their princes, and there is no king or prince who stands before	Kings shall not cease from the house of Judah nor scribes teaching the Law from the sons of his sons until the time when King Messiah comes, whose is the kingdom,[42] and to him it is appointed that every kingdom of the earth shall serve. How fair is the King Messiah who is appointed to arise from the House of Judah. He girds his loins and goes out to make war against his enemies, and he kills kings togeth-

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by L. Ginzberg, Legends of the Jews V (1925), 366, n.382. For the second see Sifré Deut §32; Midrash Tannaim (ed. Hoffmann, p.24); b. Pesaḥim 56a (R. Simeon b. Lakish); Gen. Rabbah XCVIII.4. For Rabbinic parallels to Gen.49 in Jer. I see esp. L. Ginzberg, op. cit., II (1910), 149-147; V. (1925), 366-370.

[42] Cf. Justin's text of Gen. 49:10, ἕως ἂν ἔλθῃ ᾧ ἀπόκειται τὸ βασίλειον, which betrays acquaintance with the targum tradition. I Apol. XXXII. 2.

garments of very fine wool, the color of scarlet and colored materials.	him. He reddens the mountains with the blood of killing them; his clothing is stained in the blood like unto the winepress of grapes.	er with their princes, making the mountains red with the blood of killing them and making his mantle white from the fat of their warriors, his clothes stained in blood, so that he is like a presser of grapes.

באחרית הימים is interpreted concretely in the synagogue tradition as a designant of the Days of the Messiah. In this tradition there is frequently a restraint imposed on those who would be overly curious about this period, expressed in the statement that the Shekinah was taken from Jacob when he desired to reveal the קץ, or that he was silenced by the Bath Qol, or that the function of the קץ was a secret withheld from him.[43] But the sources agree that the

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[43] In addition to Gen. 49:2 Targ. Jer. I and Gen. 49:1 Targ. Jer.II, Cf. Deut. 6:4 Targ. Jer. I,II; Gen. Rabbah XCV III.1-3; and esp. b. Pesaḥim 56a which reads: "Jacob wished to reveal to his sons the end of days (קץ הימים) whereupon the Shekinah departed from him," a statement which is to be contrasted with Gen. 49:1 Targ. Jer. II which states that Jacob received the Shekinah but the end for which Messiah was to come was withheld from him.

In this connection the haggadah in b. Meg. 3a is particularly interesting. When Jonathan ben Uzziel undertook an Aramaic targum of the prophetic books, a Bath Qol reprimanded him for having "revealed God's secrets to men." He defended his work as being done "that dissensions may not increase in Israel." When, in continuing his labors, he came to the Book of Daniel, with its references to the קץ, the Bath Qol again reprimanded him with a sharp, "No more!" There lies behind these several accounts an alertness to the dangers inherent in messianism.

term באחרית הימים in Gen. 49:1 is a technical eschatological phrase designating the messianic era which presumably follows the present age.

New light on the interpretation of Gen. 49 in the Hellenistic-Roman period has come from a fragmentary commentary on the passage recovered from Cave 4 at Qumran, designated provisionally 4Q Patriarchal Blessings. The fragment published concerns the blessing of Judah recorded in Gen. 49:10.[44] The text reads:

1. לוא]יסור שלי[ט משבט יהודה	There shall not] cease a ruler from the tribe of Judah: when there shall be dominion for Israel
בהיות לישראל ממשל	
2. לוא]כרת יושב בוא לדויד כי	there will not] be cut off an enthroned one in it belonging to (the line of) David. For the ruler's staff is the royal mandate;
המחקק היא ברית המלכות	
3. אלפי ישראל המה הרגלים	the fami]lies of Israel

[44]Referred to in Discoveries in the Judean Desert: I, (1955), 128 as a "commentaire de Gen. 49," the fragmentary text was published by J. M. Allegro, "Further Messianic References in Qumran Literature." JBL 75 (1956), 174f. + Plate 1. With this text should be compared 1QSb v.20-29, published in Discoveries in the Judean Desert I, 127-129. The interest the fragment displays in Gen. 49:10 may be contrasted with a text from the same general period which alludes to Gen. 49 in an incidental way, merely noting the double inheritance granted to the Tribe of Joseph: "And Israel blessed his sons before he died and told them everything that would befall them in the land of Egypt; and he made known to them what would come upon them in the last days, and he blessed them, and to Joseph he gave two portions in the land" (Jub. 45:14). The phrase באחרית הימים is noted, but not interpreted.

are the <u>feet</u>. <u>Until</u> the Legitimate Messiah <u>shall come</u>, the shoot of	עד בוא משיח הצדק צמח
David, for to him and to his seed has been given the royal covenant over his people for everlasting generations.	4. דויד כי לו ולזרעו נתנה ברית מלכות עמו עד דורות עולם:

The text interprets the enigmatic עד כי־יבא שילה of Gen. 49:10 in terms of משיח הצדק, the legitimate Messiah, a royal messianic figure from David's line.[45] That this interpretation found support in the expression באחרית הימים in Gen. 49:1 cannot be shown from the published fragment, but is suggested by other texts of a similar character. In 4Q Florilegium,[46] which is primarily concerned with the re-establishment of the House of David באחרית הימים,[47] there occurs language which is quite parallel to the key phrase in 4Q Patriarchal Blessings:

<u>And] the Lord [tel]ls you that he will build a house for you, and I shall set up your seed after you, and I shall establish his royal throne</u>	10 וה]גיד לכה יהוה כי[א בית יבנה לכה והקימותי את זרעכה אחריכה וחכינותי את כסא ממלכתו

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[45] On the significance of this designation see N. Wieder, "The Doctrine of the Two Messiahs among the Karaites," JJS 6 (1955), 21.

[46] A single fragment of four lines was published by Allegro, <u>op. cit.</u>, 176f. + Plate 1, but see now J. M. Allegro, "Fragments of a Qumran Scroll of Eschatological <u>Midrāšîm</u>," JBL 77 (1958), 350-354 where the fuller text is made available.

[47] The expression occurs four times in the published text, col. i, 2, 12, 15, 19.

forever. I [will be] to him as a father, and he will be to me as a son. He is the shoot of David who will arise with the Interpreter of the Law, who	11 לעול[ם אני [א]ה[יה] לו[א] לאב והוא יהיה לי לבן הואה צמח דויד העומד עם דורש התורה אשר
[. . .] in Zi[on (?) in the l]ast days;[48] as it is written, And I shall raise up the tabernacle of David which is fallen.	12]בצי[ון ? בא]חרית הימים באשר כתוב והקימותי את סוכת דויד הנפלת יאהסוכת:

Here the fulfilment of the promise will take place באחרית הימים, while in 4Q Patriarchal Blessings the fulfilment is described in terms of the coming of משיח הצדק. The connection between משיח and באחרית הימים is seen in other texts as well,[49] and supports the suggestion that the distinctly messianic interpretation of Gen. 49:10 in 4Q Patriarchal Blessings was encouraged by the reference to באחרית הימים in Gen. 49:1.

The apocalyptic tradition in the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs, the synagogue tradition in the Targum and the Rabbinic statements from the Taanaitic period, and the sectarian tradition in 4Q Patriarchal Blessings offer independent lines of evidence that in the Hellenistic-Roman period the theologically neutral temporal expression באחרית הימים has a strong tendency to become a technical eschato-

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[48] Cf. 4QpIsa[a], Fragment D published by J. M. Allegro in JBL 75 (1956), 180-182 + Plate 3, "Its interpretation concerns the Shoot of] David who will arise at the en[d of days," פשרו על צמח] דויד העומד באח[רית הימים.

[49] E.g. 4QpIsa[a], Fragments A, C and D.

logical term. The interpretive tradition accompanying Gen. 49 associates the expression with the messianic age. A study of the other biblical passages which contain the expression באחרית הימים would indicate a similar sharpening of the eschatological focus of the expression in the Hellenistic-Roman period.[50] באחרית הימים became an effective lever for eschatological thinking. The structure underlying the eschatological hope of Israel was seen in terms of "former days" (פנים) and "latter days" (אחרית הימים). The dividing point between these two stages within the time-line of God's redemptive program for Israel was not always distinct, sometimes seen in terms of the intensified evil which heralds the latter days,[51] and at other times in terms of the coming of the messiah or redemption which inaugurates the period.[52]

During the Hellenistic-Roman period the conviction became widespread that the prophetic message to Israel was

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[50] E.g. Num. 24:14ff. as interpreted at Qumran (CD vii. 19,20; 4Q Test. lines 9-13), in Pharisaic circles (j. Ta'anith iv.2, 67a; Eus. Hist. Eccl. iv.6), in the synagogue (Targ. Jer. I, II, Onk. ad loc.), and in the community which is responsible for the present form of the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs (Test. Levi 18:3; Test. Judah 24:1). Note further how Isa. 2:2 is used to explain באחרית הימים in Gen. 49:1 in Gen. Rabbah CXVIII.2, on the principle of analogy.

[51] E.g. Test. Judah 18:1; Test. Dan. 5:4; 4QpIsa^{b} ii. 1ff.

[52] E.g. Test. Joseph 19:1-12; 4Q Patriarchal Blessings 1-4; Targ. Jer. to Gen. 49:2 4QpIsa^{d} 1-8.

forward-looking and eschatological in perspective. The prophets stood within the former days but prophesied with respect to the latter days. It was a later Rabbinic dictum that "all the prophets prophesied only with respect to the Days of the Messiah."[53] That conviction can now be attested from the pre-Christian period. The introductory formula to a citation of Isa. 8:11 in 4Q Florilegium reads, "as it is written in the book of Isaiah the prophet concerning the latter days."[54] After the passage is cited the text continues, "And they are the ones of whom it is written in Ezekiel the prophet. . . . " One can move from Isaiah to Ezekiel in interpreting the passage for both phophets spoke concerning אחרית הימים.[55]

It is this conviction which accounts for an eschatological interpretation in this period of many biblical passages

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[53] b. Sanh. 99a; Ber. 34b כל הנביאים כולן לא נתנבאו אלא לימות המשיח. The later orientation of this dictum is indicated not only by the names associated with it, but by the distinction between the days of the Messiah and the age to come, concerning which see below.

[54] 4Q Florilegium, i.15, אשר כתוב בספר ישעיה הנביא לאחרית [ה]ימים. Cf. Sirach 48:24f. (of Isaiah), "by a spirit of might he saw אחרית/ and comforted the mourners of Zion. Unto eternity he declared the things that shall be/ even hidden things before they came to pass."

[55] 4Q Florilegium, i.16, והמה אשר בתוב עליהמה בספר יחזקאל הנבי'א . . . . It should be noted that the same assumption underlies 4Q Florilegium i. 1-3 where there is a citation of II Sam. 7:10b, followed by a reference to a second passage which refers to באחרית הימים. Since the next line cites Exod. 15:17-18, the passage presumably ran באחרית הימים כאשר כתוב בספר [שמות

which were originally non-eschatological, or at least which did not demand an eschatological interpretation.[56] Influenced by passages containing a prophetic perspective within the Old Testament the Jew of the first century looked forward to אחרית הימים, in which he placed his hope, however that hope was defined.

B. The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha

Within the Intertestamental period, and particularly in documents of an apocalyptic character, there was expressed a variety of hopes which were eschatological in nature. It is difficult to date these materials with any precision, and yet more difficult to discern the sociological background which accounts for the collection of often diverse elements within a single work. The book of Tobit, for instance, is a classic example of the Semitic short tale, and variations upon its theme recur in later literature.[57] To judge from the tale itself, the sociological background of Tobit is the

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[56] E.g. Deut. 23:3-4 (4Q Florilegium i.3-4, where the time limits in generations are omitted from the biblical passage); Ps. 1:1 (4Q Florilegium i.14-15); 2:1 (4Q Florilegium i.18-19); 37:14-15 (4Q Ps. 37, line 1-4); Isa. 5:11-14, 24-25, 29-30 (4QpIsa^b ii.1-iii.2, where the opening formula is . . . פשר הדבר לאחרית הימים לחובת הארץ); 8:11 (4Q Florilegium i.15-16); 10:28-32 (4QpIsa^a i.3-10); 30:15-18 (4QpIsa^c, lines 1-10).

[57] See A. Neubauer (ed.), The Book of Tobit. A Chaldee Text from a Unique MS in the Bodleian Library, with other Rabbinical Texts (1878); and M. Gaster, Two Unknown Hebrew Versions of Tobit (1897).

camp, where men interrupt the monotony of the night-watch by the telling of tales. But this deduction is insufficient to account for the didactic character of the book of Tobit in its present form, with its distinctive teaching on prayer, fasting, and particularly almsgiving.[58] It fails to account for chapters 13-14 of Tobit, with its advanced theological appreciation of the character of the prophetic Scriptures, and its mature reflection upon Isa. 54:11-14, which provides the basis for the depiction of the glorified Jerusalem?[59] The theological sophistication displayed in Tobit suggest that it is the synagogue, or an early school, which has contributed these elements to the popular tale, or rather which has adopted the popular tale as the vehicle for the didactic and eschatological tenor in Tobit; such a creative milieu would account for the crystallization of older hopes and the creation of newer ones within Israel.

Within Tobit there is reflection upon the structure of Israel's eschatological hope. The aged Tobit solemnly confesses his faith that the prophecies of God will all be fulfilled in their season,[60] and sketches for his son the

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[58] E.g. Tobit 1:3,16f.; 2:4,14; 4:7-11, 16-18; 12:8-10; 14:9.

[59] The influence of Isa. 54:11-14 on later Jewish thinking is clear not only from Tobit 13:14-18 and Rev. 21:11-21 but from a new text from Qumran, 4QpIsa^{d}, published by J. M. Allegro in JBL 77 (1958), 220f. + Plate 3.

[60] Tobit 14:4-5, "for I believe the word of God upon

experience of exile and restoration which will come to Israel. The land will be left desolate, its people carried into captivity and its Temple burned.

> But God will again have mercy upon them, and God will bring them back into the land of Israel, and they will again build the house, but not like the first, until the times of that age be fulfilled; and afterward they will return, all of them from their captivity, and build up Jerusalem with honor, and the house of God shall be builded in her, even as the prophets of Israel spoke concerning her (Tobit 14:5).

The idolatrous nations, abandoning their false worship, shall serve the Lord, and God will exalt His people Israel.[61] The description of the exile and restoration, of course, is vaticinium ex eventu, but introduces the key expression in verse 5, "until the times of that age be fulfilled; and afterward . . . " (ἕως πληρωθῶσι καιροὶ τοῦ αἰῶνος καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα . . .). Tobit has just stated that all of the prophecies "shall come to pass in their appropriate times" (πάντα συμβήσεται τοῖς καιροῖς αὐτῶν), with speci-

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Nineveh, which Nahum spoke, that all these things will be. . . . And all the things which the prophets of Israel spake, whom God sent, shall come to pass; and nothing shall be diminished of all their words; and all things shall come to pass in their seasons. . . . Wherefore I know and believe that all the things which God has spoken will be accomplished and will be, and there will not fall to the ground a word of the prophecies . . . even as the prophets of Israel spake concerning her." The statements are so solemn and emphatic that it may be correct to see in them a response to a denial that the prophetic promises of God would be fulfilled.

[61] Tobit 14:4-7.

fic reference to Nahum's word to Nineveh and Assyria;[62] but he now looks beyond the times of his present age to a new age which will witness the fulfilment of the eschatological promises of God, specifically the promise of Isaiah 54 of a glorified Jerusalem. Tobit sees in the fulfilment of the prophetic Scriptures assurance than an eschatological age will follow his own. He has no technical name for this period, but states merely that it will follow "after" the fulfilment of the times of the present age. The basic two-fold structure of anticipation found in the Old Testament is affirmed. In the Parables of Enoch,[63] there is met the two-age terminology of this age and the age to come which is familiar from later Rabbinic literature.[64] In an almost incidental way it is said that the righteous "have hated and despised

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[62] Tobit 14:4, which is followed in v.15 by the declaration that Nineveh is destroyed and Assyria subdued. D. C. Simpson in APOT I (1913), 241 labels v.15 "The Dawn of the Messianic Age." But what is described is merely the fulfilment of Nahum's prophecy which is the assurance that the restoration will occur, after which "when the times of that period be fulfilled," the age of the glorified Jerusalem will dawn. For an historical and eschatological sketch similar to Tobit 14:4-7 see Jub. 1:9-18.

[63] On the Parables of Enoch see above p.12[illegible] n.18.

[64] עולם הזה and עולם הבא, on which see Steuernagel, op. cit., 483f. There is no explicit reflection on the two ages either in the Hebrew or Greek OT, except in Isa. 9:5 LXX where the Semitic phrase "everlasting Father" is rendered "Father of the age to come" (πατὴρ τοῦ μέλλοντος αἰῶνος). It was the conviction of R. H. Charles, APOT II (1913) 237, on I Enoch 71:15, that this was the earliest occurrence of the term "age to come."

this age of unrighteousness" (I Enoch 48:7), while to Enoch is given the assurance that God "has declared unto you peace in the name of the age to come" (71:15). The two ages in view are the time of the world between creation and the consummation, and the new age which consummation introduces. The qualitative distinction between the two ages in the Parables, viewed as a unit, is between unrighteousness with its implications, and peace which God bestows. In other literature this qualitative distinction is expressed in a variety of other ways.[65] It is assumed that the two ages are antithetic in structure, the present age being the time of the world which is destined to end in contrast to the endless age to come ushered in by the consummation. The distinction between the two ages lies in the line of successiveness, the end of the present age providing the climatic transition to the age to come. In the Parables there is reflection upon different aspects of the transition between the two ages. The first parable (38:1-44) reflects particularly upon the judgment of the wicked, which is yet future, and upon the blessings which have been prepared for the righteous. The second parable (45:1-57:3) also projects judgment into the future, but then describes that judgment as if it were

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[65] For the expression within another cycle of Enoch traditions cf. II Enoch 65:3-10, and esp. 66:6 (A), "loving one another until you go out from this age of pain, so that you may become inheritors of the endless age."

already a reality. The judgment signals the vindication and glorification of the righteous, and is accompanied by the resurrection of the dead (50:1-56:9). The return of the Jews from the dispersion to the Holy Land completes the triumph of Israel (57:1-3). The third parable (58:1-69:29) reflects more fully upon the severity and finality of the final judgment which introduces the consummation. The three parables together form the background for the use of the term "the age to come" in 71:15, and make clear that this age arrives only by an act of God's sovereign disposition.[66] The structure of the eschatological hope expressed in the Parables is two-fold, the terminology of "this age" and "the age to come" expressing more sharply than Tobit 14:5, that there is an "afterward" following the fulfilment of the seasons of the present age.

Part IV of I Enoch (83:1-90:42) contains two dream visions of the Seer, the first of which deals with the flood as the first judgment of the world (83:1-84:6). The second dream vision is far more comprehensive in its presentation

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[66]This Semitic understanding is to be sharply distinguished from a Greek conception of time as a stream of ages in which all things flow, constantly renewing themselves, and in which creation is not an absolute beginning nor consummation an absolute end (e.g. ps. Arist., Mund. 5; cf. Vergil, ecl. IV.5, 34ff., 52). See further H. Sasse, art., "Aion," RAC I (1950), 193-204. The difficulty which is built into the Semitic statements about the two ages is that both ages must be conceived in temporal categories, although the age to come stands in sharp contrast to the present age.

of history, extending from the time of Adam to the consummation when Jerusalem is rebuilt and glorified. The whole vision is presented in apocalyptic fashion, with men depicted through animal imagery, and their character through color imagery. There is a lack of any clear differentiation between phases of the history until the final period, where there is a distinction of four periods within the time envisioned. The presence of periodization at this point suggests that the entire account may be viewed under the larger category of period-speculation.[67] In the material as it now stands it is possible to discern seven major periods, the sixth of which is subdivided into four periods. The following structure of the passage would emerge from this understanding:

I. From Adam to the Flood (85:3-89:9).

II. From the Death of Noah to the Exodus (89:10-27).

III. Israel in the Desert until the Entrance into Palestine (89:28-40).

IV. From the Time of the Judges until the Building of the Temple (89:41-50).

V. The Divided Kingdom until the Destruction of Jerusalem (89:51-67).

VI. The Shepherds' Rule (89:68-90:12).

(i) First period, from the destruction of Jeru-

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[67] On periodization see esp. S. Aalen, op. cit., 152-157.

salem to the Return from Captivity (89:68-71).

(ii) Second period, from the time of Cyrus to that of Alexander the Great (89:72-77).

(iii) Third period, from Alexander to Seleucid domination (90:1-5).

(iv) Fourth period, from Seleucid domination to the Maccabean Revolt (90:6-12).

VII. Judgment and Consummation (90:13-42).

The material will support this understanding, but does not demand it. Only in the description of the time from the destruction of Jerusalem until the time of Judgment after the Maccabean revolt is periodization demanded. There the time of "the shepherds'" rule is measured in hours, and the total number of hours is seventy, that is, a full period.[68] The concept of seven periods is influenced by the seven days of a week. Within the week six of the days are characteristically alike; the seventh alone is distinct. Periodization is an apocalyptic device which allows the present age to be seen in terms of phases of its duration. The distinctness of the consummation from the phases of the present age which precede it indicates that the basic structure of the hope of Israel has not been essentially modified. But the counting of

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[68] From 89:72; 90:1,5,17 the periods may be reckoned: 12 + 23 + 23 + 12 = 70. On the number 70 and units of seven in period-speculation see Aalen, op. cit., 152-154 and the passages cited there. On the four-fold division of the time preceding the consummation in I Enoch 89:59ff. see E. Schuerer, Geschichte[4] III (1909), 277f.

the hours in the sixth period, which is the seer's own period, indicates a degree of anticipation of the consummation which is characteristic of apocalyptic.

In "the Apocalypse of Weeks,"[69] the fifth cycle of tradition in I Enoch, there is an explicit periodization of history into ten weeks of unequal duration, seven of which appear to belong to past history at the time the Enoch material is published.[70] The ten week-periods conclude with the Final Judgment which takes place in the seventh part of the tenth week (91:15), after which the Consummation follows:

> And the first heaven shall depart and pass away
> And a new heaven shall appear.
> And all the powers of heaven shall give a sevenfold light.
> And after that there will be many weeks without number forever,
> And all shall be in goodness and righteousness
> And sin shall no more be mentioned forever (91:16-17).

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[69] The material is disordered in this fifth section, and is arranged differently by the various modern editors. The order of R. H. Charles, op. cit., is 92; 91:1-10, 18-19; 93:1-10; 91:12-17; 94, while G. Beer in E. Kautzsch, Die Apokryphen und Pseudepigraphen des Alten Testaments II (1900), 298-301 takes 91:1-11, 18-19 as an introduction to "the Apocalypse of Weeks," and rearranges the order 91:1-11, 18-19; 93; 91:12-17; 92; 94. Both Charles and Beer agree that "the Apocalypse of Weeks" must be rearranged so that 93:1-10 immediately precedes 91:12-17.

[70] Cf. 93:10. The ten week-periods are described in 93:3-10; 91:12-17, each period being given only the briefest sketch to delineate its point of termination. For other instances of Jewish periodization of history into ten periods cf. Sib. Or. IV. 18-22, 40-185; Targ. to Ruth 1:1 ("ten mighty famines has been decreed by heaven to be in the world from the day the world was created until King Messiah comes, . . .").

Throughout "the Apocalypse of Weeks" the week-age is the unit of time, but there is a sharp contrast between the period preceding the Consummation and that which follows. The time of the present age can be viewed under the aspect of ten weeks which come to an appointed end. After this period "there will be many weeks without number forever" (91:16), an expression which preserves the week unit of time but extends the duration of consummation indefinitely. The point of transition between the two periods of time is the Final Judgment and the establishment of the New Heavens. While periodization in the Apocalypse of Weeks does not alter the distinction between this age and the age to come, it allows an anticipation of the age to come within the present age. The seer's own time is the seventh week, a period marked by apostasy and the suffering of the righteous, three weeks removed from the consummation. Nevertheless he looks to the eighth week as a period in which the righteous will be vindicated through a judgment which anticipates the Final Judgment (91:12-13). Before the age to come two more week-ages must intervene after the eighth week; but in some sense, the powers of the age to come break into the eighth week. In an anticipatory way the new age manifests itself. This conception, which occurs within an apocalyptic sectarian framework, marks a distinct advance beyond other near-contemporary understandings of the eschatological time-table, an advance

achieved through periodization.[71]

In the book of Jubilees period-speculation is used to present a panoramic view of history within an apocalyptic framework. The periodization is built upon a seven-day week basis, a jubilee corresponding to seven year-weeks.[72] In the

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[71] R. H. Charles, op. cit., 263f. is anxious to see in the eighth week a temporal messianic kingdom. The passage (91:12-13), however, makes no mention of a messianic figure, but speaks of a period marked by the vindication of righteousness over the apostasy of the previous period. It is not until 105:2, a passage which Charles dissociates from I Enoch 91-104, that the Messiah is introduced,

In the Test. Levi 17:1-11 there seems to be a fragment of period-speculation which may be related to the Apocalypse of Weeks, although the text as it now stands is unintelligible, 17:1f. alludes to a period of seventy weeks (first mentioned in 16:1) and states that in each jubilee there shall be a priesthood. A vague description of seven jubilees follows, but where the seven begin or end is uncertain, as is the duration of each jubilee. The seventh appears to lead to the destruction of Jerusalem and the exile (17:7). Verses 10-11 contain a division of some period into seven weeks of uncertain duration, and only the fifth and seventh weeks are specified. The fifth week is the time of return and rebuilding of the Temple, while the seventh is a time of immoral priests, presumably those who followed the legitimate Oniad priestly line when Onias III fled to Egypt in 167 B.C. 18:1f speaks of the punishment of these wicked priests and the raising up of a new priest "to whom all the words of the Lord shall be revealed/And he shall execute a righteous judgment upon the earth for a multitude of days." In "the Apocalypse of Weeks" also after the evil seventh week there comes the vindication of God's righteousness in the eighth week. In Test. Levi 16:1, after the words "I have learned," (which introduce the seventy weeks concept) some texts (B A^{e} S) add "in the book of Enoch." It seems probable that the fragment of periodization in Test. Levi 17:1ff. reflects a knowledge of the "Apocalypse of Weeks" in I Enoch.

[72] Cf. Jubilees 50:4. The same system is implied in Test. Levi 17 and II Baruch 28:2. See further Aalen, op. cit., 153f.

Old Testament the basic unit of time was the day, and within Jubilees this older understanding persists when history is viewed as an arrangement of days.[73] But the year has displaced the day as the basic unit of time in Jubilees,[74] and elsewhere in the Intertestamental literature.[75] Jubilees divides into jubilee periods of forty-nine years each the history of the world from the time of the creation to the giving of the Law on Sinai. A perfectly symmetrical development of the heptadic system controls the structure of the work, so that Israel enters Canaan at the close of the fiftieth jubilee.[76] What is noteworthy is that, unlike the Apocalypse of Weeks, reflection upon that period in which the

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[73]On the day as the dominant unit of time see Aalen, op. cit., 43f., 118-120. The priority of the day over the year in the OT is seen in the fact that the year can be expressed by the plural ימים: e.g. Ex. 13:10; Judges 17:10; I Sam. 2:19; Isa. 32:10 (cf. 29:1). The year is seen as a collection of days, In a similar way the "completion of the year" can be spoken of as "the completion of the days": cf. Ex. 34:22 and II Chron. 24:23 with I Sam. 1:20.

Within Jubilees note the day as the unit of time in 1:26,29; 4:29-30; 6:4,12,14,16,23,30,35 et passim ad 50:13.

[74]Cf. esp. Jub. 2:9, where the year is underlined as the basic unit of time in the expression "all the times of the years," which recapitulates the series to that point; and 4:18, "the days of the years," where the day is merely a part of the year. Add 3:17; 4:7,9,11ff.,20,27,29,33; 5:22f.,31; 6:18 et passim.

[75]See Aalen, op. cit., 96f., 118-129 and the references noted esp. on 118-20.

[76]Jub. 50:4-5.

hopes of Israel would be fulfilled is introduced almost apart from the periodization into jubilees. It is primarily in chapter 23, following the account of Abraham's death, that the author looks into the distant time ahead when the unrighteousness of men will contrast sharply with the righteousness of Abraham. Strife, deceit, self-centeredness and war will characterize that period, and God will stir up the Gentiles to afflict Israel until they turn unto Him once again. In the midst of oppression men will cry out to the Lord, and will return to the study of the Law. Then God will heal His people and relieve their oppression and they shall experience joy and peace, attaining the life-span of one thousand years which had been denied to men previously (23: 14-31). It is characteristic of this period that "there shall be no Satan [or, accuser] nor any evil destroyer" (23: 29), a phrase which is used elsewhere in Jubilees to describe the ideal period when Joseph was Pharoh's vizier (40: 9; 46:2). It recurs in the closing section of Jubilees where the structure of history is again related to jubilee-periods. God instructs Moses:

> Wherefore I have ordained for thee the year-weeks and the years and the jubilees: there are forty-nine jubilees from the days of Adam until this day, and one week and two years: and there are yet forty years to come for learning the commandment of the Lord, until they pass over into the land of Canaan, crossing the Jordan to the west. And the jubilees shall pass by, until Israel is cleansed from all guilt of fornication, and uncleanness, and pollution, and sin, and error, and dwells with confi-

> dence in the land, and there shall be no more a Satan nor any evil one, and the land shall be clean from that time for evermore. (Jub. 50:4-5).

The reference to cleansing and to the removal of the accuser links this account with that in chapter 23, and places the hope expressed within the jubilee framework. But the fifty jubilees from creation to the entrance into the promised land belong wholely to the present age. And yet other jubilees must pass until Israel is to be cleansed. In this document the periodization of history into jubilee-periods does not modify the old two-fold structure of Israel's hope in any significant way. It is merely an apocalyptic device which permits a presentation of the material in a structured chronological pattern.

The material from Tobit, I Enoch and Jubilees is representative of the range of expression and the type of periodization which is encountered within the Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha. While other terms for the time of consummation may be found in the literature,[77] they add nothing new to the understanding of the structure of the eschatological hope of Israel. The basic distinction between the present age and the age to come is preserved in this material. But

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[77]E.g. Jub. 1:29, "from the day of the creation until the heavens and the earth be renewed;" Apoc. Mos. 10:2, "if I come to the day of Resurrection;" Test. Reuben 6:8, "until the consummation of the times;" Sib. Or. III. 797, "when the end of all things is coming on the earth."

periodization has introduced a new approach to history. It allows the present age to be viewed in terms of its distinctive phases and, particularly in the Apocalypse of Weeks, expresses an expectation of the powers of the new age breaking into the old age in an anticipatory way. In the apocalyptic material the time of hope lies in the future, and ultimately in the age to come. But the Apocalypse of Weeks indicates that the near future, a time still within the present age, can be the period when hopes are proleptically fulfilled, allowing a foretaste of that fulfilment which will come only with the consummation.

C. The Documents from Qumran

Closely related to the thinking reflected in the Pseudepigraphic literature are the sectarian documents from Khirbet Qumran. These documents reflect the convictions of the Covenanters who retired into the desert in the second half of the second century B.C. in preparation for God's intervention in Israel's history.[78] The sect regarded themselves as the true Israel, constituting a remnant within apostate Israel. The promises to Israel they understood as being fulfilled in their own experience as a righteous com-

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[78] See above p. 7, n.8. For the identification of the sect as an early Essene community see the careful discussion of Wernberg-Møller, op. cit., 18-21. On the relationship between the Scrolls and the Pseudepigraphic literature see the articles cited by Wernberg-Møller, p.17.

munity assuming a holy posture before God. They looked forward to "the day of vengence," when God would judge all who forsake His covenant, and vindicate the people of His choice.[79] Their writings reflect a strong election-consciousness, and an eschatological emphasis which comes to expression both in biblical exposition and halakic formulation.

The perspectives of the Qumran Community can be seen particularly in their biblical commentaries, the pesharim to portions of Scripture which are understood as coming into meaningful focus in the experience of the Community. The fullest text which has been preserved is the Habakkuk Commentary found in Cave I (1QpHab), containing thirteen columns of fragmentary text.[80] The interpretation of the first two chapters of Habakkuk, verse by verse, is controlled by the conviction that the prophecy has received its fulfilment in the life-situation of the Community and its founder, the מורה הצדק.[81] This understanding is the work of the Tea-

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[79] E.g. 1QS i.11; ii.9; iv.12; v.12; ix.23.

[80] Published in The Dead Sea Scrolls of St. Mark's Monastery, I. The Isaiah Manuscript and Habakkuk Commentary (ed. M. Burrows, 1950), Plate LV-VXI. F. M. Cross, "Qumran Cave I," JBL 75 (1956), 123f., points out that the pesharim were rarely if ever copied, so that it is probable that the text recovered is the autograph of the written composition.

[81] For an introduction to the biblical commentaries of the sect see Cross, The Ancient Library of Qumran, op. cit., 82-88; for an examination of the hermeneutical approach to the text of Habakkuk in the commentary see K. Stendahl, The School of St. Matthew (1954), 183-194; K. Elliger,

cher himself:

> And God commanded Habakkuk to write the things that were to come upon the last generation, but the final phase of that period he did not make known to him. But when it says that he may run who reads it, its meaning concerns the legitimate Teacher to whom God has made known all the mysteries of the words of his servants the prophets. (viii.1-5).[82]

The prophecy, when rightly interpreted, spoke of "all the things which are coming upon the last generation,"[83] since, like other prophets, Habakkuk spoke with reference to "the last days."[84] This eschatological orientation of the prophecy could be found upon its surface, but "the final phase of that period"[85] was veiled to the prophet, and waited for its explication until the coming of the Teacher.

Studien zum Habakkuk-Kommentar vom Toten Meer (1953) 118-164; and B. Gerhardsson, Memory and Manuscript (1961), 33-36. It is instructive to compare the exegetical approach at Qumran with that of the Rabbis. Cf. I. L. Seeligmann, "Voraussetzungen der Midraschexegese," in Suppl. to VT 1 (1953), 150-181. R. Bloch, "Midrash," DB Suppl. V (1957), 1263-1281.

[82] Cf. 1QpHab. ii.2-3, 6-10.

[83] את כול הנבאות על ידי הדור האחרית 1QpHab ii.7; cf.ii.10; vii.1-2.

[84] לאחרית הימים 1QpHab ii.5-6; ix.6. For this orientation in the pesher approach to Scripture see above notes 54-56.

[85] ואת גמר הקץ 1QpHab vii.2. On the meaning of קץ in OT, the Scrolls and the Mishnah see Buchanan, The Eschatological Expectations, op. cit., 155-173, 315-21; Wernberg-Møller, op. cit., 48-49 and the literature cited there. Apparently I. Lévi, "Un Ecrit Sadducéen Antérieur à la ruine du Temple," REJ 67 (1911), 161-205, was the first to point out that קץ in CD means "period," and not "end."

> For still the vision is for an appointed time; it hastens to the period and does not lie. This means that the last period extends over and above all that the prophets said; for the mysteries of God are marvelous. If it tarries, wait for it, for it will surely come; it will not delay. This refers to the men of truth, the doers of the law, whose hands do not grow slack from the service of the truth, when the last period is stretched out over them. For all the periods of God will come to the fixed term, as He decreed for them in the mysteries of His wisdom (vii. 5-14).

The general time to which Habakkuk's prophecy looked forward is the extended period into which the Community has entered. Their actual history makes concrete what to the prophet was vague or sealed. The period is by no means completed, but it has begun; in the words of the midrash pesher, "the last period is stretched out over them" (המשך עליהם הקץ האחרון).

The "appointed time" to which Hab. 2:3 refers is "the day of judgment,"[86] when the persecuted and despised Community[87] will be vindicated as God's elect.[88] Accordingly the built-in provision for delay in the prophet's words,--"if it tarries wait for it, for it will surely come; it will not delay"--is applied to the men of the Community. They are not to grow weary in the service of truth when the last period becomes stretched out, and God appears to delay. Assurance is given that "all the periods of God will come to their

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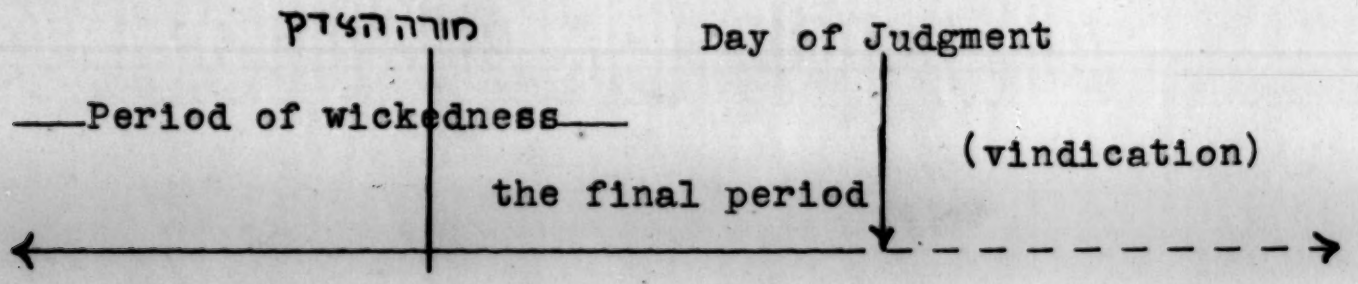
[86] יום המשפט, 1QpHab xii.4; xiii.2-3.

[87] 1QpHab ii.1-10; v.3-12; viii.8-13; x.9-13; xi.1-15; xii.1-10.

[88] 1QpHab viii.1-3; x.3-5.

appointed term," including the final period. The fulfilment of Habakkuk's words in the life of the Community and its Teacher is itself assurance that this word, concerning a period which extends over and beyond what the prophets saw and described, will also come to fulfilment. From the perspective of the Community's exile and affliction the present period is "the period of wickedness;"[89] men have acted treacherously in the past[90] and they will continue to act treacherously throughout this final period.[91] But the consummation and its judgment both of the wicked oppressors and the righteous men of the Community will not long delay. The structure of the hope expressed can be graphically represented:



In the understanding of the sect, the significant advance into the final period was made with the coming of the מורה הצדק, a man with revelatory insight. Within the Community with its Teacher the new age manifests itself in an anticipatory way, although the present age has not yet passed away. With a strong election-consciousness the Covenanters

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[89] קץ הרשעה, 1QpHab v.7-8. [90] 1QpHab ii.1-4.
[91] 1QpHab ii.5-6.

looked forward to the Day of Judgment. The intensity of their expectation is expressed in the conviction that they live in the final period, and perhaps in the final phase of that period. There is here an advance beyond the Apocalypse of Weeks, for the anticipated period in which the powers of the age to come break into the present age has come. In the literature of the sect there is a higher degree of anticipation of the new age than elsewhere in the Intertestamental period.[92]

The Habakkuk Commentary reflects meaningfully upon the present age, and anticipates a day of judgment which will bring vindication to the elect of God. An examination of the Zadokite Documents[93] or the Manual of Discipline[94] makes clear that not only biblical interpretation but also halakic formulations express the self-consciousness of the sect. In

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[92]On this heightened anticipation see K. Stendahl, "The Scrolls and the New Testament: An Introduction and a Perspective," in The Scrolls and the New Testament (1957), 6-17.

[93]For text, translation and notes see C. Rabin, The Zadokite Documents[2] (1958).

[94]For text and plates of 1QS see The Dead Sea Scrolls of St. Mark's Monastery (ed. M. Burrows), II:2 (1951), Plates I-XI. For translation and commentary see P. Wernberg-Møller, op. cit. There are no less than 12 exemplars of the Manual of Discipline which have been found to date. In addition to the complete scroll from Cave 1, there are fragments of ten copies from Cave 4, and of one from Cave 5. Cf. J. T. Milik, Review of P. Wernberg-Møller, The Manual of Discipline (1957), in RB 67 (1960), 410-416, where a list of variant readings in the several manuscripts is given.

these related documents[95] are to be found phrases technical to the Community which supplement the terminology of the pesher to Habakkuk, and which give a fuller statement of the hope entertained. To describe the present age these documents speak not only of "the period of wickedness"[96] but also of "the period when Israel sinned,"[97] "the period of the desolation of the land,"[98] "all the days of the reign of Belial,"[99] "the periods of Israel's blindness,"[100] "the

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[95] On the relationship of these two documents see B. J. Roberts, "Some observations on the Damascus Document and the Dead Sea Scrolls," BJRL 34 (1952), 366-387; Wernberg-Møller, op. cit., 12-16; Idem., "Some Passages in the 'Zadokite' Fragments and their Parallels in the Manual of Discipline," JJS 1 (1956), 110-128. On the fragments of CD found in Cave 6 at Qumran cf. R. de Vaux, "Fouille au Khirbet Qumran," RB 60 (1953), 86; and M. Baillet, "Fragments du Document de Damas. Qumran grotte 6," RB 63 (1956), 513-523.

[96] קץ הרשיע CD vi.10,14; xiii.20; xiv.18f.; xv. 7,10; cf. 1QH iii.24-36.

[97] קץ מעל ישראל CD xx.23; cf. 4QpHos i.9, קץ מועלם; I Enoch 22:12; 80:2, ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις τῶν ἁμαρτωλῶν

[98] קץ חרבן הארץ CD v.20f.

[99] ככה יעשו שנה בשנה כול ימי ממשלת בליעל, 1QS ii.19; cf. i.18; CD iv.12f.; v.18f.

[100] קציהם לעורן ישראל, CD xvi.2. The whole statement, however, is interesting: "And the exact statement of the periods of Israel's blindness to all these i.e. the laws of the Community, behold, it can be learned in the Book of the Divisions of Times into their Jubilees and Weeks" (xvi.2-4). The reference is to the Book of Jubilees, fragments of which are found at Qumran. See R. de Vaux, "La grotte des manuscrits hébreux," RB 56 (1949), 602-604; C. C. Torrey, "A Hebrew Fragment of Jubilees," JBL 71 (1952), 39-41.

period of wrath,"[101] and "the last generations."[102] These designations of the age are introduced in an incidental way in the halakah of the community. Following a listing of the laws of the congregation, it is stated that the men of the community are "to walk in them during the whole period of wickedness" (CD vi.10). No attempt is made to justify the terminology or the judgment implied; it is accepted without question as a proper description of the period in which the desert community lives.

Frequently these designations are qualified by the temporal adverb, "until," which defines more explicitly the self-consciousness of the Covenanters. The discipline of the Community is binding "until the time fixed for His visitation,"[103] that is, until "the day of God's anger"[104] which will be "a time of trial."[105] On that occasion the men of Qumran, who have been faithful to the covenant, will escape: "these shall escape in the time of visitation, but they that

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[101] בקץ חרון, CD i.5; XX.15f.; 4QpHos i.12 (plural); 1QH iii.28; frg.1,5.

[102] ויודע לדורות אחרונים את אשר עשה בדור אחרון בעדת בוגדים CD i.11-12; cf. viii.5.

[103] עת מועד פקודתו, 1QS iii.18; CD ix.13; cf. vii.21 (A) = xix.10f. (B), 4QpHos.i.10; 4QpIsa^{b} ii.2.

[104] יום אף זזזזז 1QpZeph line 4 (Discoveries I, 80).

[105] עת המצרף 4QpPs 37 14-15 line 4; 4QFlor. ii.1; cf. CD xx.27; 1QS i. 17; viii.4.

hesitate shall be given over to the sword when the Messiahs of Aaron and Israel shall come."[106] In the Habakkuk Commentary, as well as in the War Scroll and the Hodayoth, there is no reference to messianic figures,[107] but in the halakic materials of the Sect the Messiahs of Aaron and Israel are mentioned several times. Most of these references are wholely general in nature, merely indicating in comprehensive terms the terminal limit of the present age:[108]

> . . . from the day when there was gathered in the unique teacher until the Messiah shall arise from Aaron and Israel.[109]
>
> And this is the order of the meetings of the camps. They that walk in these[110] during the epoch of wickedness until there shall arise the Messiah of Aaron and Israel.[111]

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[106] CD vii.21 (A) = xix.10f. (B).

[107] See the discussion of M. Smith, "What is Implied by the Variety of Messianic Figures?" JBL 78 (1959), 68f.

[108] This note of caution is voiced by M. Smith, op. cit., 68f., who sees in these formulae an expression coming to mean "forever." For an expectation of a messianic figure which is more vivid than these expressions one can turn to 4Q Patriarchal Blessings 2-5; 4Q Flor. i.11-13; 4QpIsa[a], frg. D, lines 1-5.

[109] מיום האסף מורה היחיד עד עמוד משיח מאהרן ומישראל, CD xix.35-xx.1. With this expression can be compared CD xx.13-16, where there is a figurative reference to forty years, that is, the whole desert period, as the duration of the present age.

[110] I.e., the Laws; cf. CD viii.2.

[111] בקץ הרשעה עד עמוד משיח אהרן וישראל CD xii. 22f.-xiii.1.

In two similar designations, however, there is reflected the expectation of messianic forgiveness and restoration to the rightful inheritance of the congregation, the land of Israel.

> And this is the exact statement of the rulings in which they shall walk during the epoch of wickedness, until there shall arise the Messiah of Aaron and Israel, and he will make conciliation for their trespass.[112]

> Thus far the order of the meeting of the camps for the whole epoch of wickedness, and they that will not hold fast to these will not be fit to dwell in the land when the Messiah of Aaron and Israel comes in the end of days.[113]

With these expressions can be compared the temporal designation "until the time of the making of the New,"[114] which appears to have reference to the consummation. The fullest statement of the sectarian hope entertained at Qumran, perhaps, is that contained in the Zadokite fragments:

> until salvation and righteousness shall be revealed for them that fear God. 'And then ye shall again discern between the righteous one and the wicked one, between him that serves God and him that has not served Him.' 'And he will show mercy unto thousands' 'to them that

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[112] CD xiv. 18f. L. Ginzberg, Eine unbekannte juedische Sekte I (1922), 357-59, amends the text to read "until God sends the Messiah," avoiding the attribution of forgiving sins to the Messiah, but he has not been followed in this by Rabin. See his commentary to the text, ad. loc. Ginzberg's exposition of the messianology of CD in the light of the contemporary Jewish literature (299-363) will, nevertheless, repay careful attention.

[113] CD xiii. 20-22. The passage continues, speaking of the divine judgment with which God will visit the earth (xiii.20-xiv.1).

[114] צת קץ נחרצה ועשות חדשה, 1QS iv.25. Cf. Isa. 43:19, and Wernberg-Møller, op. cit., 87, n.82.

love Him and to them who wait for Him, unto a thousand generations.'[115]

The fulfilment of the expectations of the Covenanters can be characterized as the period of God's good pleasure;[116] and will undoubtedly be marked by a return from exile in the desert.[117] These formulations add detail to the strong hope of vindication expressed in the Habakkuk Commentary, and make more definite the understanding of the Consummation to be found at Qumran. Initiated by the day of judgment, the Community anticipated the coming of a priestly Messiah who would make atonement for their sin, and a royal Messiah who would restore them to their inheritance. They would experience the continual mercies of God and be confirmed in their service to Him. This period of vindication and blessing lay in the fu-

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[115] CD xx. 20-22. The biblical references are to Ex. 20:6; Deut. 7:9.

[116] קץ רצונך, 1Q34bis ii.5 (Discoveries I, 154. Milik comments on this phrase: "époque eschatologique dont la proche venue est attendue par les Elus de la Communauté"); 1QH frg. 9, line 8. Cf. 1QM i.5, עת ישועה, which is qualified as "the season of [God's] rule," קץ ממשל.

[117] Cf. 4QpPs 37 ii.1 (text published by J. Allegro, "A Newly Discovered Fragment of a Commentary on Psalm XXXVII from Qumran," PEQ 86 (1954), 69-75 + Pl. XVIII). The passage is fragmentary, but appears to be a comment on Ps. 37:18, which is understood as speaking of שבי המדבר אשר יחיו לאלף דור, "the repentant of the desert who will live for a thousand generations." M. Burrows, More Light on the Dead Sea Scrolls (1958) 402, translates שבי המדבר "those who return from the desert," but this does not appear to be defensible. For "a thousand generations" as the period of God's mercy following the judgment see CD XX. 20-22.

ture, and, from the sect's point of view, the immanent future. Prophecies bearing on the last generations had already been fulfilled in their experience, and the day of testing and vindication could not long delay.

In seeking to determine the relative degree of fulfilment-consciousness among the Covenanters it is pertinent to ask whether the Spirit was present in the congregation, and if so, how this was understood. Apart from references to "spirit" as an anthropological or ethical term,[118] reference to the Spirit is met primarily in contexts which speak of prophecy or of prophets as those who were anointed with the Holy Spirit:

> . . . to make known to them by the hand of those anointed with His Holy Spirit and the seers of truth.[119]

> . . . the commandment of God given by the hand of Moses

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[118] CD v.11; vii.4, 1QH ix.32, to which, perhaps, is to be added 1QS iii.6-9, which appears to define "the spirit of God's true council," "the holy spirit of the community in His truth," by the anthropological expression "an upright and humble spirit." The passage goes on to speak of the initiate "humiliating himself under all of God's ordinances," tending to confirm that the reference is anthropological. On the ethical conception "Spirit of Truth," 1QS iii.18f. et alia, see E. Schweizer, "Gegenwart des Geistes und eschatologische Hoffnung bei Zarathustra, Spaetjuedischen Gruppen, Gnostikern und den Zeugen des Neuen Testamentes," in The Background of the New Testament and Its Eschatology, op. cit., 489-493; W. D. Davies, "Paul and the Dead Sea Scrolls: Flesh and Spirit," in The Scrolls and the New Testament, op. cit., 171-173.

[119] CD ii 12f. on which see not only the comment of Rabin, ad loc, but also the long note of Wernberg-Møller, Manual of Discipline, op. cit., 62.

and by those anointed with the Holy Spirit.[120]

That it is correct to understand the reference to רוח הקודש in these statements in terms of the prophet is suggested not only by biblical terminology[121] but also by the literature of the sect itself which speaks explicitly of "that which the prophets have revealed by His Holy Spirit."[122] The reference is clearly to the prophetic Spirit who gave to the prophets the message found to be so meaningful to the sect.[123] It seems probable that the unique Teacher of the Community claimed to possess this Spirit, and to be a prophet, if it is correct to discern his hand behind the confessions of thanksgiving in the Hodayoth. Twice in this collection of psalms reference is made to possession of the Holy Spirit:

> I thank thee, O Lord, because thou hast sustained me with Thy strength and hast shed abroad Thy Holy Spirit in me.

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[120] CD v.21-vi.1, on which see Wernberg-Møller, op. cit., 62-64, 130; M. Smith, op. cit., 67, n.9.

[121] Cf. Ps. 105:15 (= I Chron. 16:22); I Kings 19:16; Isa. 61:1.

[122] 1QS viii. 16, and the comment of Wernberg-Møller, op. cit., 130, n.49.

[123] The importance of the prophets to the Covenanters was made clear in the opening lines of 1QS (i.2-3) which speaks of God's command "through Moses and all His servants the prophets." Wernberg-Møller, op. cit., 45, n.6, calls attention to the fact that in the Old Testament Moses and the prophets are never mentioned together. The fact that they are put on an equal footing here and in CD v.21f. indicates the high esteem in which both the Law and the Prophets were held by the Sect. The pesharim recovered to date bear witness to the same fact.

I shall not be moved.[124]

With Thy Holy Spirit thou dost delight me
And to this day Thou dost lead me.[125]

What is striking in these statements is their incidental character. Nothing is built upon the confidence of possessing the Spirit. Standing in the line of the prophets[126] the מורה הצדק possesses the prophetic Spirit.[127] But does the congregation as a whole possess the Holy Spirit?

There is one passage which is open to the interpretation that the Community was conscious of possessing the Spirit. It is the long passage 1QS ix.3-11, which projects the priestly character of the Community.

> When these become in Israel, according to all these norms, a congregation of the Holy Spirit of eternal truth, they shall atone for iniquitous guilt and for sinful faithlessness, and pay off (sin) for the earth by means of the flesh of burnt-offerings and from the fat-pieces of the sacrifices of right offerings of lips as a proper sweetness, and a perfect way of life as a pleasing freewill offering. At that time the men of the community shall separate themselves as a sanctuary consisting of Aaron, of the community, as a Holiest of Holy and a house of community consisting of Israel who walk in integrity. The sons of Aaron alone shall have control over judgment and property. According to them the decision shall be made concerning every norm of the men of the community. The property of the holy men who walk in integrity--their property must not be mixed with the property of the men of deceit who have not purified their way by separating themselves from deceit and by walking in a perfect way. They must not in any way leave the council of

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[124] 1QH vii.6f. [125] 1QH ix.31f.

[126] See above p. 48 on 1QpHab vii.1-5.

[127] Cf. 1Q34bis ii.4-8 (Discoveries I, 154).

> Torah-study, in order to walk entirely in the stubbornness of their heart. They shall be judged by the first regulations in which in the beginning the men of the community were instructed, until the coming of a prophet and the Messiahs from Aaron and Israel. (1QS ix.3-11)

On its surface the passage speaks of the Community as "a congregation of the Holy Spirit." Wernberg-Møller, however, has called attention to the unusual provision in ix.7, that the priests alone shall control both judgment and property. This statement is not in accord with either column v. or vi.1,24, according to which the whole community took part in the government of current affairs, or viii.1, which speaks of the governing council which is at the head of the community, in which priests constitute a minority. He suggests that there is present in column ix an old tradition reflecting the absolute power of the priesthood.[128] This suggestion may shed light on the initial description of the community as "a congregation of the Holy Spirit." It appears likely that there has been incorporated into column ix a part of the original ground plan for the community, projecting its priestly character in absolute terms. This projection was later modified

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[128] Wernberg-Møller, op. cit., 134,n.16-17. He calls attention to Sir. 45:17, which speaks of the control of Aaron over "ordinance and regulation," and comments: "The similarity of the two passages is so great that it seems justified to assume that our author was acquainted with Ecclus. xlv 17 and changed the passage deliberately to fit it into the particular context in which he wanted to use it--a procedure he follows again and again in his use of Scripture." Cf. Davies, op. cit., 176f.

and laymen assumed an important role in the community, a role which is reflected in v.1ff., vi.1,24 and viii.1. In the ground plan there was anticipation that the community would receive a general out-pouring of the Holy Spirit and be constituted a congregation of Holy Spirit. But an important passage in col. iv. would appear to indicate that this anticipated bestowal of Spirit was not realized, but still lay in the future.

> But God, in His mysterious wisdom and His glorious prudence, has established a limited time for the existence of deceit. At the time fixed for visitation He will destroy it forever, and then the truth of the earth will appear forever, for it has polluted itself by the ways of ungodliness during the ascendency of deceit until the time which has been decided for judgment. Then God will purify all the doings of man by His truth and purge a part of mankind. He will utterly destroy the spirit of deceit from them and cleanse His flesh by Holy Spirit from all ungodly acts. He will sprinkle upon it a Spirit of truth like water of purification. . . . (1QS iv. 18-21).[129]

This cleansing with Holy Spirit is clearly future in the passage, and is projected for "a part of mankind," that is, for the Community. The reference to the sprinkling of Spirit like water of purification speaks of a baptism of Spirit in connection with the renewal which the consummation brings. It seems probable, therefore, that in the opinion of the

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[129] See the commentary of Wernberg-Møller, op. cit., 85-87 and esp. n.70,74; E. Schweizer, op. cit., 490; Davies, op. cit., 173-177. Both Schweizer and Davies emphasize that this is the only passage in 1QS which stresses the function of the Spirit as a sign of the End.

Community at the time the Manual of Discipline was edited that the general bestowal of the Spirit upon the Community lay in the future "at the time of when God makes things new."[130] This is an important consideration when assessing the relative degree of anticipation of the new age in the Qumran Community. In relationship to the primitive Christian Community, where there was a clear consciousness of possessing the Spirit, there is less anticipation at Qumran on the specific matter of Holy Spirit. Yet it must be stressed that the difference between Qumran and the primitive Christian Community is not absolute, but relative. The conviction that prophecy has been fulfilled in the experience of the sect and the prophetic Spirit bestowed upon its teacher marks a claim to the in-breaking of the powers of the new age. This claim within an apocalyptic sectarian framework inevitably led to periodization.

The literature of the sect betrays a heightened sense of anticipation, as compared with other Intertestamental documents, including those emanating from apocalyptic circles. The present time remains one of anticipation. While the מורה הצדק may possess the Spirit, the Community as a whole does not. They remain in the desert, in exile. But in terms of anticipation they occupied an advanced point on the time-line, further advanced than other circles in the

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[130] 1QS iv.25.

Hellenistic-Roman period would claim for themselves.

D. The Earliest Tannaitic Tradition

By "the earliest Tannaitic tradition" is meant the Pharisaic material which can be assigned with some confidence to the period prior to the destruction of the Second Temple. This will include the traditions ascribed to the pre-Tannaitic era and to Tannaim of the first generation.[131] This limitation is necessary in order that the modification of traditional thought which contributed to the consolidation of Tannaitic Judaism at Jamnia,[132] after the destruction of the Temple by Titus in 70 A.D., be distinguished from earlier thought patterns. To the historian as well as to the student of Rabbinic law it is evident that the destruction of the Temple created acute problems and raised searching questions that were destined to leave their imprint upon the core of tradition.[133] It is necessary, therefore, to make an attempt to get behind this catastrophic event in order to detect the

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[131] See H. Loewe, "The Rabbis, their 'Generations' and their Countries," in A Rabbinic Anthology (ed. C. G. Montefiore and H. Loewe, 1938), 694-699.

[132] For this later material see below, Ch. IV. pp.254-271.

[133] E.g. M. Ta'an. IV.6; Moed Katan III, 6; Soṭah IX. 12,15; Tos. Shab. I.13 (ed. Zuckermandel, p.110); Mekhilta to Ex. 15:17; 18:27; 19:1 (ed. Horowitz-Rabin, pp.150, 200f., 203f.); cf. K. W. Clark, "Worship in the Jerusalem Temple after A.D. 70," NTSt 6 (1960), 269-280.

earlier convictions of the Tannaim.

Unusual problems attend any investigation of the Rabbinic material which must be candidly recognized. The first relates to the sheer mass of material, even if this be limited to the Tannaitic traditions incorporated in the Mishnah, the Tosephta, the Baraitoth and the halakic Midrashim. By extracting from the whole of the material a half-dozen statements dealing with a common theme gives an impression of concentrated concern within the material which is frequently foreign to it. There is always involved the risk of organizing the material, giving to it structural form, where in reality the material is scattered throughout the Rabbinic corpus, incorporated in the Gemara or Tannaitic Midrashim almost incidentally. It is impossible to entirely overcome the false impression conveyed by a systematic treatment of the Rabbinic material, but a word of caution ought to be expressed. The material is more diverse than any study such as this can adequately convey.

The problem of dating the material is also acute, especially in a study where it is important to distinguish traditions formulated prior to the destruction of the Temple from those which proceeded from Jamnia and other centers of Rabbinic study after 70 A.D. It is well known that the admonition to transmit a tradition in the name of the teacher

who formulated it[134] occurs repeatedly in the material, and whenever this is done there can be relative confidence in assigning a formulation to a particular generation. But numerous traditions are anonymous, or are vaguely ascribed to "the sages" or "our teachers." Many of these anonymous traditions are evidently early in date, their anonymity being due to the fact that there was in the great Sanhedrin in Jerusalem a unified halakic center from which legal decisions went forth throughout the land.[135] However, the question of anonymous halakoth is extremely complex.[136] There are a great number of anonymous halakoth which contradict one another; especially is this true in the case of those found in the Mishnah on the one hand, and those of the Baraitoth and es-

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[134] In this connection two principles of transmission were of importance אדם חייב לומר בלשון רבו, "it is a man's duty to state (a tradition) in his teacher's words" (M. ʿEd. I.3; b. Shab. 15a; Bek. 5a; Ber. 47a; cf. b. ʿErub. 53a) and אמר דבר בשם אומרו, "a saying is repeated in the name of its originator" (Aboth VI.6, Bar.; cf. b. Meg. 15a; Ḥul. 104b; Nid. 19b) See further M. Guttmann, Zur Einleitung in der Halacha II (1913), 57, who rightly emphasizes the Rabbinic interest in naming the authors of the traditions in order to make clear the authority and legal competence which lay behind the respective traditional sayings; and Gerhardsson, op. cit., 130-136. See further H. Loewe, "The Dating of Rabbinic material," in a Rabbinic Anthology, op. cit., 709-713.

[135] Cf. מכאן יוצאת תורה לכל ישראל, M. Sanh. XI. 2.

[136] See A. Guttmann, "The Problem of Anonymous Mishna," HUCA 16 (1941), 139f., 143., 148-154; Idem, "Akiba, 'Rescuer of the Torah,'" HUCA 17 (1942-43), 400-415.

pecially of the Tosephta, on the other.[137] Moreover, there are indications in the material that the function of anonymous halakoth underwent a process of change from Rabbi Akiba onwards, in which traditions whose formulator was definitely known were put forth with deliberate anonymity to express the authoritative halakah.[138] In this investigation, in which there is an attempt to establish a factual matter contemporary to or earlier than the destruction of the Second Temple, the anonymous material must be left aside or relegated to the footnotes, with primary attention being focused upon those Tannaitic formulations which can be assigned quite definitely within the prescribed period. In pursuing this course it is possible that anonymous halakoth containing material relevant to the investigation will be neglected, but this risk cannot be avoided.

Another consideration that is important to any investigations of eschatological conceptions within the Rabbinic material is that the vehicle of these conceptions is invariably haggadah rather than halakah. It is commonly recognized that not all haggadic sayings were transmitted with the same minute care for their wording as were the halakic

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[137] On this problem see A. Guttmann, Das redaktionalle und sachliche Verhaeltnis zwischen Mischna und Tosefta (1928), 129ff., 192f.

[138] A. Guttmann, "Akiba, 'Rescuer of the Torah,'" op. cit., 144-146.

formulations; the margin of variation or abbreviation was greater than with the halakah.[139] But there is evidence that a teacher's important haggadic statements were distinguished from the less important[140] and were transmitted with great care. This is true particularly of those haggadic statements which were incorporated into the Mishnah, and even more extensively as Baraitoth within the Gemara.

A final problem concerns the nature of the material which is germain to this study. Sayings which reflect the structure of early Tannaitic thinking on the hope of Israel constitute a small particle of the great masse of material preserved by the Rabbis. Moreover, in contrast to the heightened expression found in apocalyptic circles or at Qumran, Rabbinic statements about the age to come are, with few exceptions, vague and indistinct. The vivid colors of apocalyptic description are replaced by a colorless statement of the fact that there is an age to come; but the character and function of that age are scarcely expressed. This

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[139]For a demonstration of this see L. Finkelstein, "The Transmission of the Early Rabbinic Traditions," HUCA 16 (1941), 115-135. Cf. Gerhardsson, op. cit., 96f.

[140]Gerhardsson, op. cit., 96f., remarking on the greater degree of care exhibited in transmitting the halakah as compared with the haggadah: "But this does not mean that a Rabbi's important haggadic sayings--for nothing could be more mistaken than to judge all haggadic sayings en masse--were transmitted on the principle of some method other than the halakic."

restraint in expression is combined with the added difficulty that the same terms may have reference to very different facets of reality,[141] lessening the certainty that an interpreter really understands the character of the hope expressed. These several considerations leave ample room for erroneous interpretation, and counsel caution in formulating the earliest Tannaitic conception of Israel's hope. It is necessary to recognize the tentative nature of a conclusion reached within this section of the investigation.

One of the most difficult questions in connection with Rabbinic eschatology is to determine the original structure of hope in early Tannaitic thought. More specifically the problem is to define the relationship of the present age to the age to come, and on occasion to the Days of the Messiah. In what manner, and to what extent can the Days of the Messiah be distinguished from the age to come? Is a distinction between the messianic age and the age to come original to the earliest Tannaitic thinking on the subject of history and the consummation? There can be no doubt

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[141]This is particularly true of the terms עולם הבא and לעתיד לבוא, which sometimes refer to the ultimate age to come, at other times are equivalent to the Days of the Messiah preceding the age to come, and in still other instances refer to the realm of the dead prior to the resurrection. On this fluidity in conception and terminology see Str-B IV.2 (1928), 815-844; J. Bonsirven, "Judaisme palestinien au temps de Jésus Christ," in DB Suppl IV (1949), 1230-1232; W. D. Davies, Paul and Rabbinic Judaism^2 (1955), 314-318 (citing earlier literature).

that some Tannaitic traditions present the structure of God's dealing with Israel in two successive stages, "this age," עולם הזה and "the age to come," עולם הבא or לעתיד לבוא,[142] or "this age" and "the Days of the Messiah", ימות המשיח.[143] But other Tannaitic materials distinguish between "the Days of the Messiah" and "the age to come," lending support to a three-fold structure in Israel's hope, embracing "this age," "the Days of the Messiah," and "the age to come." Which understanding is original to the earliest Tannaitic traditions, or can both understandings lay equal claim to being early?

From the pre-Tannaitic era and the first generation of the Tannaim there are few passages which are eschatological in any sense,[144] and even fewer that mention specifically "this age" and "the age to come." Perhaps the earli-

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[142] For variations in terminology see Jose Goitia, "Indicaciones temporales en la escatología, "Semana Biblica Española 16 (1956), 54f., 57f., 61-67; Str-B IV:2 (1928), 844-847; 821, 841f., 968-970.

[143] Str-B IV:2 (1928), 859.

[144] The point has been often made. Cf. J. Bonsirven, "Judaisme palestinien au temps de Jésus Christ," DB Suppl IV (1949), 1232, on the narrow issue of messianism: "dans la pensée juive, le messianisme tient une place moins importante que la Tora ou que la nation élue. Sans doute, suivant le diction consacré, "toutes les prophéties se rapportent aux jours du Messie;" néanmoins dans leur exégèses, les docteurs découvrirout beaucoup plus de références à la Loi et à Israël qu'au Messie. En fait, nous pouvons parcourir des textes juridiques anciens, telle le Mišna, sans y découvrir une allusion au Messie." See further, N. Glatzer, "Hillel the Elder in the Light of the Dead Sea Scrolls," in The Scrolls and the New Testament, op. cit., 232-244.

est[145] occurs in an aphorism attributed to Hillel the Elder (c.20 B.C.), which makes reference to "life in the age to come" (חי" העולם הבא):

> If a man has gained a good name he has gained something for himself; if he has gained for himself words of the Torah he has gained for himself life in the age to come.[146]

The contrast in the passage is between a good which endures merely for a life-time and one that endures without end. The reference to "life in the age to come" is meant to explain Hillel's statement that the more a man studies the Torah, the more he receives life,[147] and apparently has reference to life in the consummation. What is implied is a contrast between חי" העולם הזה and חי" העולם הבא, but only the latter term is explicitly mentioned in the text. In a similar vein is a statement preserved in the Tosephta, ascribed to King Monobaz of Adiabene (c.50 A.D.),[148] a full

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[145]Both Str-B IV:2 (1928), 815 and Goitia, op. cit., 63, cite j. Baba Metzia II.18 (8c), which contains an anecdote about the early Pharisaic teacher Simeon ben Shetah (c.75 B.C.) as the earliest instance of this terminology. The problem is that while Simeon speaks of אגר בל הדין עלמא there is no reference to the age to come, and it is by no means a necessary implication within the anecdote.

[146]M. Aboth II.7; Aboth de R. Nathan (B), XXVI. Cf. Sifré Num. §119.

[147]M. Aboth II.7, מרבה תורה מרבה חיים. See the commentary of K. Marti and G. Beer, 'Abot (Vaeter) (1927), 46 ad loc.

[148]On King Monobaz see Jos. Ant XX.ii-iv. 1ff.; B. J. II. xix.2; IV. ix.11; V.ii.2; iii.3; iv.2; vi.1; VI.vi.3f.;

proselyte to Judaism. The statement occurs as the conclusion to an haggadic account:

> An account about Monobaz the king. He arose and distributed all of his treasures to the poor people of his realm during two years of scarcity. His brothers sent [a deputation] to him and said, Your fathers stored up treasures and they added to those of their fathers but you have arisen and distributed all of your treasures and that of your fathers. He said to them, My fathers stored up treasures below, but I have stored up treasures above, as it says, Truth springs out of the earth and צדק looks down from heaven (Ps. 85:12); my fathers stored up treasures in a place over which force may prevail but I in a place over which force cannot avail, as it says, צדק and judgment are the foundation of His throne (Ps. 97:2); my fathers stored up treasures where there are no fruits, but I have stored up treasures which bear fruits, as it says, Say with respect to צדיק that it shall be well with them, for they shall eat of the fruit of their doings (Isa.3:10); my fathers stored up treasures of mammon, but I have stored up treasures of souls, as it says, The fruit of צדיק is a tree of life, and he that is wise wins souls (Prov.11:30); my fathers stored up treasures for others, but I have stored up for myself, as it says, And for you shall be צדקה (Deut.24:13). My fathers gathered treasures in this world, but I have gathered treasures with respect to the world to come, as it says, צדק shall go before you, and the glory of the Lord shall be your reward (Isa.58:8).[149]

The passage is a midrash constructed on biblical texts containing the root צדק, which in the Hellenistic-Roman

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M. Yoma III.10. See further, E. Schuerer, Geschichte[4] III (1909), 169-172; P. Kahle, The Cairo Geniza[2] (1959), 270-272. For the Talmudic legends about the kings of Adiabene see N. Bruell, "Adiabene," in Jahrbuecher fuer juedische Geschichte und Literatur, I (1876), 72-80.

[149] אבות" גנזו אוצרות בעולם הזה ואנ' אוצרות לעולם הבא שנ" והלך לפניך צדקך וכבוד "' יאספך:
Tos. Peah IV. 18 (ed. Zuckermandel, p. 24); j. Peah IV (15b, below); b. Baba Batra 11a. Cf. the anonymous mishnah in M. Peah I.1; Tos. Peah I.1-2, which is strikingly similar to this formulation.

period and later connoted especially almsgiving. It is this secondary significance of צדק which is demanded in each of the texts if the midrash is to be meaningful. Throughout the passage a contrast is drawn between provision for this life and provision for life in the age to come. It is difficult to be certain whether עולם הבא in this context means the heavenly sphere of the soul after death or the actual consummation. The reference to "the tree of life" (Prov. 11:30) and to "the glory of the Lord" (Isa.58:8) which shall be the reward of the righteous suggests the latter, but there is only probability to the suggestion. A more serious question is whether the midrashic play on the word פרס is due to the ingenuity of Monobaz, or to some later haggadist who knew that the sovereign's generosity had been the subject of criticism among members of the royal family who did not embrace Judaism. It is not impossible that the King of Adiabene is himself responsible for the dictum, but again, there is room for question at this point. If the passage is as early as the Tosephta would lead one to believe, it definitely falls within the period before the destruction of the Second Temple, and allows only the two-fold understanding of the structure of Israel's hope.

To the first generation of the Tannaim are to be assigned those sayings which are ascribed to two schools within first century Pharisaism, Beth Hillel and Beth Sham-

mai.[150] In a late midrash collection there occurs a record of a dispute between the two schools concerning the formation of the resurrection body:

> The School of Shammai maintains: His formation in the age to come will not be like his formation in this age. In this age skin and flesh are formed first, then sinews and bones last: but in the future (לעתיד לבא) he will begin with sinews and bones, and finish with skin and flesh, as it says in connection with the dead in Ezekiel, And I beheld, and lo, there was sinews upon them and flesh came up, and skin covered them above (Ezek. 37:8). . . . The School of Hillel said, Just as he is formed in this age, so will he be formed in the age to come. In this age the skin and flesh come first, the sinews and bones last; so in the future will he begin with skin and flesh and end with skin and bones. For thus says Job: Wilt thou pour me out as milk and curdle me like cheese? Thou wilt clothe me with skin and flesh, and knit me together with bones and sinews (Job 10:10f.), He does not say, "Thou didst pour me out . . . and didst curdle me "but Thou wilt pour me out . . . and wilt curdle me." It is not written here, "Thou hast clothed me with skin and flesh "but Thou wilt clothe me;" it is not written And with bones and sinews Thou hast knit me together but Thou wilt knit me together.[151]

The passage is haggadah, one of a series of midrashim on the term ויצר in Gen.2:7, "Then the Lord God formed man." The several haggadic accounts seek to explain why the text reads ויצר, with two yodhs, instead of ויצר, with one yodh, as it occurs in verse 19 with reference to the animals. Each of the midrashim begins with the same word of explanation,

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[150] On the meaning of the terms בית שמאי and בית הלל see M. Guttmann, op. cit., I (1909), 37ff.; E. Bickerman, "La chaîne de la tradition pharisienne," RB 59 (1952), 49; Gerhardsson, op. cit., 85; A. Guttmann, "Hillelites and Shammaites--A Clarification," HUCA 27 (1957), 115-126.

[151] Gen. Rabbah XIV.5(10b); cf. Lev. Rabbah XIV.9.

"There were two formations," that of Adam and that of Eve, or that which partook of the nature of the celestial beings and that which partook of the character of earthly creatures, or the formation of that which discerns good and that which discerns evil.[152] The midrash concerning Beth Hillel and Beth Shammai begins שְׁנַיִם, "two formations, one in this age and one in the age to come," at the resurrection. This dispute between the two schools is then recorded, Beth Shammai citing Ezek. 37:8 which is interpreted as teaching the resurrection from dry bones. Beth Hillel counters with Job 10:10f., where the point is labored that the future tense, not the past, is used in the text, clearly with reference to the resurrection body. The dispute is little more than an exercise in exegetical ingenuity, but two observations may be made upon the passage. First, it is important to note how naturally the expressions עולם הבא and לעתיד לבא can be interchanged with no modification in the meaning. The fact that the controversy concerns the resurrection body leaves no doubt that in this instance עולם הבא refers to the consummation following the resurrection and is explicitly contrasted with the עולם הזה by the Beth Shammai. Secondly, there is no argument between the two schools concerning the two-fold structure of the time-table; it is this

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[152] Gen. Rabbah XIV. 2-4.

assumption which is simply taken for granted which allows them to interpret ז"ע as they do. One wonders whether the exegetical distinctions offered within the two schools were ever meant to be taken seriously. The passage accordingly offers merely incidental evidence to the general currency of the two-fold structure within this period.

The final passage which can be assigned with confidence to the period of the Second Temple concerns a halakic modification in the Temple liturgy which requires for its understanding the two-fold scheme of this age and the age to come. The Mishnah reports:

> At the close of every benediction in the Temple they used to say, "for evermore" (צד העולם); but after the heretics had taught corruptly and said that there is but one age (עולם) it was ordered that they should say מן העולם ועד העולם.[153]

A variant reading for the word "heretics" (מינים) is "Sadducees" (צדוקים),[154] suggesting that the background of the passage is the denial of the resurrection and the life in the world to come.[155] When the heretical party asserts that

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[153] M. Ber. IX. 5. On the meaning of the expression מן העולם ועד העולם see Goitia, op. cit., 75. Cf. R. Joshua (c.80 A.D.) in Mekhilta to Ex. 17:16 (ed. Horowitz-Rabin, p. 187), commenting on the biblical expression מדר דר: ר' יהושע אומר מדר אלו ח"י העולם הזה דור אלו ח"י העולם הבא:

[154] See the discussion of J. Z. Lauterbauch, "Midrash and Mishnah. A Study of the Early History of the Halakah," JQR n.s. 6 (1915), 314, n.86.

[155] It is possible that the famous dictum of M. Sanh. X.1, "All Israel has a portion in the age to come," followed

there is only one age, they speak with reference to העולם הזה, and mean to deny העולם הבא. The benediction מן העולם ועד העולם means from this age until the next age, and is affirmed in protest against the denial of the resurrection and the age to come. The parallel passage in the Tosephta is even more explicit in its support of the two-fold structure of Israel's hope:

> The conclusion of every benediction in the Temple ran: "for evermore" (עד העולם). But when the heretics had taught corruptly and said, there is only one age, it was ordered that they should say מן העולם ועד העולם since this age is before the age to come only as a vestibule is before the banquet hall.[156]

The passage is remarkable in that it spells out the contrast between this age and the age to come which was only strongly implied in the Mishnaic text. The figure of the vestibule from which one immediately enters the banquet hall excludes the possibility that an interim period between העולם הזה and העולם הבא was contemplated by the formulator of this

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by the qualification. "And these are they that have no share in the age to come: he that says there is no resurrection of the dead, and (he that says) that the Law is not from Heaven, and an Epicurean," belongs to the same period and context as the mishnah under discussion. It appears anonymously, followed by further exceptions attributed to Tannaim of the second generation and later. This suggests that an early mishnah has been the subject of debate, and that once the later layers of interpretive tradition are removed a mishnah from the time of the Second Temple remains.

[156] Tos. Ber. VII. 21 (ed. Zuckermandel p.17). With the explanatory expression ומודיעין שאין העולם הזה בפני העולם הבא אלא בפרוזדור מפני טרקלין: Cf. M. Aboth IV. 16.

Baraitha. The figure occurs elsewhere independent of the mishnah about the Temple benediction,[157] and, like related figures of speech,[158] is meant to affirm the necessity of preparation in this age for the age to come. It is interesting to note, however, that the several related figures invariably allow no room for an interim period between this age and the age to come.

These four passages, and related anonymous halakoth exhaust the evidence that can be assigned with some degree of probability to the period before the destruction of the Second Temple. They uniformly assume, rather than argue, that the two-fold structure of Israel's hope is the accepted one. On the other hand the passages which distinguish the Days of the Messiah from the age to come which are assigned to definite teachers all come from the second generation of Tannaim or later.[159] The silence of the texts which have

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[157] M. Aboth IV. 16, ר' יצקב אומר העולם הזה דומה לפרוזדור לפני העולם הבא התקן לפרוזדור בדי שתכנס לטרקלין: This mishnah occurs in Koh. R. IV. 6 with the full name R. Jacob b. Kurshai; in Aboth de R. Nathan (B) XXXIII (p.73) it is anonymous, as in Tos. Ber. VII. 21.

[158] E.g. the age to come is like a sabbath, this age like the sabbath eve: "if a man provide not on the sabbath eve, what shall he eat on the sabbath?"; the age to come is like a sea, this age like dry land: "if a man provide not for himself on land, what shall he eat on the sea?"; the age to come is like a wilderness, this age like inhabited land: "if a man provides not for himself from the inhabited land, what shall he eat in the wilderness?" Midrash Qoheleth I.15; Midrash Ruth Rabbah III. Cf. b. Shab. 153a (Bar., R. Johanan ben Zakkai).

[159] See below, ch. IV. pp.262-269.

been examined with respect to any other option in the structure of Israel's hope must be taken seriously, and in the absence of any contradictory evidence it can be at least tentatively asserted that the earliest Tannaim entertained a hope for Israel which was expressed in terms of the scheme "this age" and "the age to come." When reference was made to "the future" (לעתיד לבוא) in an eschatological sense what was in view was the age to come. While there is room for debate concerning the content of the expression העולם הבא in the several contexts in which it occurs, it appears certain that a two-fold structure undergirded Israel's hope in the earliest schools of the Tannaim.

Conclusion

The evidence which has been set forth reveals that in terminology and vividness of conception there was no uniformity within Judaism during the Hellenistic and early Roman period in expressing Israel's eschatological hope. But in the midst of the greatest diversity of expression and conception it is clear that Judaism invariably expressed its ultimate hope for the future in terms of an age which stands in antithetic contrast to the present age. The distinction between the two ages lies in the line of successiveness, with the termination of the present age marking the point of transition to the new age. When periodization occurs within a

schematic presentation of history it is consistently as the periodization of the present age into epochs of activity which lie almost wholely in the past. The age to come remained intact and exempt from these first attempts at periodization. However, periodization in an apocalyptic sectarian framework like that embodied in the Apocalypse of Weeks and the documents from Qumran is a significant device to express a consciousness of the in-breaking of the new age in an anticipatory way into the present period. There is a relatively higher degree of anticipation at Qumran, where prophecy already finds fulfilment and Spirit has already been bestowed upon the Teacher, than in the Apocalypse of Weeks; and in the primitive Christian Community, where the claim is made that the Spirit has been bestowed upon all within the Community, there is a relatively higher degree of anticipation than at Qumran. The distinction between these three sectarian convictions is a relative one which can be weighed in terms of the specific degree of anticipation of the age to come, whose powers have already broken into the present age. In this respect the Apocalypse of Weeks, the material from Qumran and from the primitive Christian Community falls into a category by itself, as compared with the remaining material from the Hellenistic and early Roman period which reflects upon Israel's hope. The conviction

that the age to come is breaking into the present age, which is not yet passed away, in an apocalyptic sectarian community inevitably led to periodization as one way of expressing the conviction that the community stood at an advanced point on the eschatological time-table.

CHAPTER II

PERIODIZATION: PRIMITIVE OR LATE?

Before any attempt can be made to identify significant illustrations of the periodization of traditional eschatological hopes on the part of the Christian Community, a prior question must be raised. Was the concern to express the self-consciousness of the Church that it lived in a new and distinctive period of redemptive history native to the primitive Jerusalem community? Or is this conviction to be attributed to later reflection within the Hellenistic Church? One of the most interesting examples of periodization within the Messianic Community is preserved in Acts 3:19-21, embedded within a speech attributed to Peter. To judge by its context and character it may reflect the thinking of the Jerusalem community. Yet the fact that the immediate context of Acts 3:19-21 is a speech must be noted, for any judgment upon the relative primitiveness of the statements preserved within that passage will necessarily be conditioned by a judgment concerning the essential reliability of the tradition in the speeches of Acts. If the speeches in Acts are merely the free literary compositions of Luke, they

cannot be regarded as reliable historical sources for reconstructing the thinking of the primitive Church. They reflect not primitive theology, but rather Luke's conception of what primitive theology may have been.[1] On this understanding there may be little or no confidence that the formulation of Acts 3:19-21 are genuinely primitive.

A. The Essential Reliability of the Tradition

The rejection of the probable historicity of the speeches in Acts is made to rest upon several grounds. By his use of stylistic devices Luke indicates that he was sensitive to the practices of Hellenistic historiography.[2] The presumption, therefore, is that he conformed to the common practice of the Hellenistic historians in composing appropriate speeches for his narrative.[3] The brevity of the speeches

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[1]This position is widely held. For example, P. Wendland, Die urchristlichen Literaturformen (1912), 265f.(331f.); H. J. Cadbury, "The Speeches in Acts," BC V (1933), 426f.; J. Weiss, The History of Primitive Christianity (1937), I, 220; M. Dibelius, Studies in the Acts of the Apostles (1956), 3, 70f., 138.

[2]Note his use of an artistic προοίμιον (Luke 1:1-4) and an imperfect προέκθεσις to the second λόγος (Acts 1:1), the division of his work into λόγοι, the threefold dating of his narrative (Luke 3:1-2), etc. See F. J. Foakes-Jackson and K. Lake, "The Internal Evidence of Acts," BC II (1922), 133-137; H. J. Cadbury, "Commentary on the Preface of Luke," BC II (1922), 489-510.

[3]H. J. Cadbury, F. J. Foakes-Jackson and K. Lake, "The Greek and Jewish Traditions of Writing History," BC II (1922), 13f., 27; H. J. Cadbury, "The Speeches in Acts," BC V (1933), 402, 405, 421; Dibelius, op. cit., 138-145, 182.

recorded in Acts underscores the improbability that they are a record of what was actually said on any given occasion.[4] Further, the occasion of some of the speeches would appear to exclude a knowledge of what was actually said by an individual, and for none of the speeches does there seem to be a suggestion of any written notes or records. Even if a report of what was said was transmitted orally by the hearers or repeated by the speaker himself in subsequent narration of the event, probability is against any extensive verbal agreement of the ultimate record with the original.[5] A careful study of the vocabulary, idiom and style of the several speeches indicates that responsibility for the language must rest with the ultimate author of Acts.[6] Finally, the speeches in Acts are not entirely independent of each other. Their similarity to each other extends beyond vocabulary and style to subject matter and interdependence of thought, so that an argument fully developed in one speech is merely referred to in a second address.[7] These considerations argue for the common

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[4] J. T. Townsend, "The Speeches of Acts," ATR 42 (1960), 151.

[5] H. J. Cadbury, "The Speeches of Acts," BC V (1933), 406.

[6] Ibid., 407; Dibelius, op. cit., 147f., 178f. On the basic unity in Luke's literary style see H. J. Cadbury, The Making of Luke-Acts (1920), 213-238; J. de Zwaan, "The Use of the Greek Language in Acts," BC II (1922), 30-65, esp. 64f.

[7] H. J. Cadbury, "The Speeches in Acts," BC V (1933), 407-410; Townsend, op. cit., 151-153.

origin of the speeches in the mind of the editor of the narrative.

Each of these considerations, however, must be carefully evaluated before any weight can be attached to the argument in toto or in part. While it is clear that Luke was sensitive to the conventions of Hellenistic historiography there are facets of his work which indicate that he was not bound by these conventions. It is further necessary to define more carefully than is usually done those conventions which dominated Hellenistic historiography at that time when Luke was writing.

It is usual to form a judgment on Luke's probable practice by citing Thucydides' statement of historical principle in the composition of speeches.[8] Thucydides states that he attempted to produce at all events the main ideas of genuine speeches, even if he gave them the content and form which he himself considered appropriate.[9] In the main the historian Polybius followed this tradition as well, although

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[8] E.g. P. Gardiner, "The Speeches of St. Paul in Acts," in Cambridge Biblical Essays (1909), 393ff.; H. J. Cadbury, "The Greek and Jewish Traditions of Writing History," BC II (1922), 7-15; Dibelius, op. cit., 138-142.

[9] Thucydides, Hist. I. 22, "As to the speeches that were made by different men, either when they were about to begin the war or when they were already engaged therein, it has been difficult to recall with strict accuracy the words actually spoken (τὴν ἀκρίβειαν αὐτὴν τῶν λεχθέντων), both for me as regards that which I myself heard, and for those who from various other sources have brought me reports.

his work contains fewer speeches, and he tends to be stricter about their veracity.[10] But Polybius writes with a consciousness that Hellenistic historiography was setting for itself another ideal. His statement that historians should not parade their oratorical skill before their readers, but merely present what was actually said, reproducing the most essential features as far as possible,[11] is directed at the newer historians who viewed history as an art and an occasion for display of rhetorical brilliance.[12] During the last cen-

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Therefore the speeches are given in the language in which, as it seemed to me, the several speakers would express, on the subjects under consideration, the sentiments most befitting the occasion, though at the same time I have adhered as closely as possible to the general sense of what was actually said (ξυμπάσης γνώμης τῶν λεχθέντων)." The meaning of the key phrases in this statement is a matter of controversy among the classicists. See the discussion of Dibelius, op. cit., 140-142, and the literature cited in the notes.

[10] K. Ziegler, "Polybios," Pauly RE XXI:2 (1952), col. 1524-27, esp. the section "Die Behandlung der Reden bei Polybios."

[11] Polybius, Hist. 12:25. Polybius does not always live us to his principles. While his speeches are not empty rhetorical trappings, neither are they a precise rendering of what was actually said, τὰ κατ' ἀλήθειαν λεχθέντα. Cf. Ziegler, op. cit., col. 1524ff.

[12] This new ideal stems from the influence of Isocrates and his pupils, Ephorus and Theopompus. See A. A. Kalischek, De Ephoro et Theopompo Isocratis discipulis. (Diss. Muenster, 1913) (not available to me); E. Schwartz, "Ephoror," Pauly RE VI (1907-09), col. 1-16; K. Muenscher, "Isokrates," Pauly RE IX (1914-16), col. 2146-2227; R. Laqueur, "Theopompos," Pauly RE Reihe 2 V:2 (1934), col. 2176-2223; and H. G. Strebel, Wertung und Wirkung des Thukydideischen Geschichtswerkes in der griechisch-roemischen Literatur (Diss., Muenchen, 1935), 12-69.

tury before the Christian era and up to the time when Luke was writing, Hellenistic historiography moved increasingly further from the ideals which dominated Polybius, under strong rhetorical influence.[13] A typical exponent of this new development was Dionysius of Halicarnassus, whose uncritical and ornamental literary style indicates that the historical material has been thoroughly subordinated to the rhetorical ideal.[14] B. Gaertner, after carefully delineating the stylistic norms which dominated the various periods of classical and Hellenistic historiography, concludes:

> Thus, at the time Luke wrote Acts, Greek historiography as known to us included no author on Greek soil who was not influenced by the stylistic ideals of the so-called later Sophists. This implies authorship that was Attic from the grammatical and purist viewpoint, but whose style was modelled on Asianist prose. Thence fol-

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[13] Within the later historical development there can be distinguished those historians like Diodorus and Strabo who were concerned less with independent work than with compilations of existent annals and older historical works. Due to the compilatory nature of this work, there are few interpolated speeches. See E. Schwartz, "Diodorus," Pauly RE V (1903-05), col. 663-704.

[14] Cf. L. Radermacher, "Dionysius," Pauly RE V (1903-05), col. 934-71; E. Norden, Die Antike Kunstprosa I (1909), 81-91. Like many historians of the time, Dionysius extols observation and carefulness for truth but in practice adopts an uncritical and ornamental style. See F. Halbfas, Theorie und Praxis in die Geschichtsschreibung bie Dionys von Halikarnass, (Diss. Muenster, 1910), 35ff.; W. Soltau, "Die geschichtliche Wert der Reden bie den alten Historikern," NJKA 9 (1902), 24-25. For Dionysius, the fashioning of speeches was the real test of an historian's ability: De Thucydide 34, Ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ περὶ τῶν δημηγοριῶν αὐτοῦ τὰ δοκοῦντα μοι φανερὰ ποιήσειν ὑπεσχόμην, ἐν αἷς οἴονταί τινες τὴν ἄκραν τοῦ συγγραφέως εἶναι δύναμιν . . . .

> lowed that the treatment of the material also adopted the traditions of Asianist school rhetoric. . . . No Greek historian of this time could handle his facts with anything approaching the mastery of the great Classical writers. The exception to the many extravagances of the period was found . . . in Roman historiography, though the laws of rhetoric even now prevailed in most of the free speeches.[15]

A comparison of Luke and the Greek historians must be made in the light of the historiographical ideals which dominated the first century A.D., and not those of an earlier period. In contrast to the ideals of Luke's day, the speeches of Acts do not exhibit the Lucan style in its most polished form. On the contrary, the style of many of the speeches is inferior to that of the narrative,[16] in spite of the fact that there

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[15] B. Gaertner, The Areopagus Speech and Natural Revelation (1955), 17, based on a careful treatment of literary conventions in Greek historiography, 12-18. Gaertner rightly insists that in comparing Luke with the Hellenistic historians it is necessary to appreciate fully the ideals governing the first century A.D., not those of Thucydides. For a contemporary criticism of the historians of the first century and their indebtedness to the rhetorical idea see Josephus, B.J. I. 1-6, and the comment by R. Laqueur, Der juedische Historiker Flavius Josephus (1920), 10-19. The influence of the rhetorical ideal on Josephus has been the subject of two dissertations, A. Wolff, De Flavii Josephi Belli Judaici scriptoris studiis rhetoricis (Diss. Halle-Wittenberg, 1908); and W. Hornbostel, De Flavii Josephi studiis rhetoricis quaestiones selectae (Diss. Halle-Wittenberg, 1912).

[16] Cf. K. Lake and H. J. Cadbury in their commentary on the speech of Acts 3: "The construction of almost every sentence in this speech is obscure, and some of it is scarcely translatable, but the general meaning is plain" (BC IV 1933 , 34f.). Commenting on Acts 4:1, where the narrative resumes: "It is very noticeable how the style changes to perfectly intelligible easy Greek in contrast to the obscurities of the speech of Peter in Ch.iii" (Ibid.,39).

is indisputable evidence that Luke could compose very elegant Greek. Whatever the explanation for this fact may be, it is clear that in the light of the contemporary rhetorical taste and the artistic license shown in the composition of speeches, in conjunction with the uncritical approach to history in Luke's time, the Acts is a work which differs considerably from the style then most in favor.[17]

A second characteristic of the speeches in Acts, as well as of the history as a whole, which distinguishes Acts from the contemporary historiography is its kerygmatic purpose. Luke is an evangelist not only in his Gospel, but in the Acts as well; a kerygmatic purpose controls the use of speeches in both halves of his work. In a careful analysis of the speeches of Acts, M. Dibelius attempted to show that Luke's work was to be understood in the light of Hellenistic historiographical practice.[18] He recognized, however, two fundamental differences between Luke's work and that of the classical historians. The fundamental assessment of the meaning of the speeches is different, for Luke writes a history which he believes has happened according to the will of

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[17]The explanation for this fact is found by Gaertner (op. cit., 18-30) in the fact that Luke's principles for writing history reflect an attachment to the Jewish tradition of writing history such as is reflected in I Maccabees. On this see below.

[18]Dibelius, op. cit., 138-185.

God. There is also a stylistic difference. Luke's speeches are much shorter, lacking two elements very prominent in the speeches of the historians: (i) the deliberative element, the debating of the "for" and "against" and (ii) the epideictic element, the rhetorical elaboration of the ideas concerned.[19] With respect to the missionary sermons, Dibelius cautions, "the analogy of historical writing fails, for here the kerygmatic aim of the book, i.e., not only to narrate, but also to proclaim, comes into evidence."[20] This is an important observation, for it permits a consideration of Acts in the light of Jewish, rather than Hellenistic historiography. It has frequently been observed that in his Gospel Luke has used the sources available to him in a way that has its closest parallel with the Jewish tradition of writing history.[21] But

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[19] Ibid., 181f.

[20] Ibid., 178; cf. 151ff.; Gaertner, op. cit., 7,26-28. Note in this connection the function of the summaries which appear throughout Acts, proclaiming the great expansion of the Church: 6:7, 9:31; 12:24; 16:5; 19:20; 28:31.

[21] E.g. F. J. Foakes-Jackson and K. Lake, "The Internal Evidence of Acts," BC II (1922), 121: "But it is also obvious--and this is of great importance--that, at least in the Gospel, he [Luke] was nearer to the old Jewish literary tradition than was Josephus. He does not, indeed, copy his sources with quite the same verbal fidelity as does the Chronicler, but he paraphrases and polishes far less than Greek custom would have demanded. Above all, in the Gospel he does not invent speeches. A purely Greek writer of history would have respected the facts of the life of Jesus, but would have freely invented speeches. Luke, on the contrary, respects the sayings of Jesus more than the narrative of events which lay before him. This is Jewish: to give teach-

with respect to Acts, where Luke's sources are no longer available for a comparison, the judgment has been expressed that Luke has used different principles, employing the freedom and literary conventions of Hellenistic literature. The argument is that in the Gospel the words of Jesus had to be transmitted with care, for they were authoritative; but in Acts no such authority adhered to the tradition.[22] This argument must be challenged, however. It is known that Luke controls his sources; his sources do not control him. When he used Mark extensively in composing his Gospel it was because of the authoritative tradition which Mark incorporated. That it was the tradition, not Mark, that was authoritative for Luke is clear from the fact that he has ordered the traditional material according to his own purpose. In Acts the situation is not different. Here too Luke is dealing with traditional material, which he orders in his own way. Because of Luke's method of dealing with his material it is not possible to identify his sources. But that the tradition in Acts is as authoritative for Luke as the tradition in his Gospel is clear from his designation of the apostolic sermons preserved by him as ὁ λόγος τοῦ θεοῦ or τοῦ κυρίου.[23]

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ing and law rather than the accurate and full narrative of events is the ideal." Cf. Dibelius, op. cit., 145f.

[22] Ibid., 121f.; Dibelius, op. cit., 145-158.

[23] E.g. Acts 4:29, 31; 6:2; 7:1; 8:14, 25; 11:1; 12:24;

It is authoritative tradition which Luke has incorporated both in the Gospel and in Acts, and in both the material has been kerygmatically ordered according to a consistent purpose. That purpose is to proclaim Jesus. In his Gospel Luke seeks to recount the life and teaching of Jesus, περὶ πάντων... ὧν ἤρξατο ὁ Ἰησοῦς ποιεῖν τε καὶ διδάσκειν (Acts 1:1); and in the Acts to describe in a similar way the expansion of the Church in connection with the two chief apostles, incorporating illustrations of the apostolic proclamation and teaching. But Jesus is the focus of attention in both parts. The full implication of the fact that Luke-Acts is a single work, with the preface to the Gospel serving as the preface to the whole,[24] has not been sufficiently appreciated. The kerygmatic purpose and method which controls the Gospel also controls Acts. In the light of the structure of Luke-Acts, and the kerygmatic religious purpose of its speeches, both

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13:5, 7, 44, 46, 48f. et passim. On the expression see now B. Gerhardsson, Memory and Manuscript (1961), 220-225; cf. 209f.

[24]See esp. H. J. Cadbury, "The Purpose Expressed in Luke's Preface," Exp. 8th Series 21 (1921), 431-441; Idem, "The Knowledge Claimed in Luke's Preface," Exp. 8th Series 24 (1922), 401-420; Idem, "Commentary on the Preface of Luke," BC II (1922), 491f.; Idem, The Making of Luke-Acts (1927) 7-11, 194-204; and most recently, "'We' and 'I' Passages in Luke-Acts," NTSt 3 (1956), 128-132. Cf. J. H. Ropes, "St. Luke's Preface: ἀσφάλεια and παρακολουθεῖν," JTS 24 (1923), 67-71, esp. 70f.; J. M. Creed, The Gospel According to Luke (1942), 1-3; N. B. Stonehouse, The Witness of Luke to Christ (1951), 10-14.

halves of this work should be understood in the light of the same historiographical tradition. The prefaces to Luke-Acts in principle place the ministry of Jesus and that of the apostles on the same level.[25] There is no evidence that the traditional material embodying the content of either of these ministries was treated differently by Luke.

The view of history which controls the presentation of the material in both halves of Luke-Acts is reflected in the attitude Luke takes toward his narrative. The religious viewpoint that God intervenes in history and leads the messianic community can be clearly discerned throughout the work.[26]

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[25]Cf. Chrysostom, Commentarius in Acta Apostolorum, Homilia 1:5 Τὰ μὲν οὖν Εὐαγγέλια ὧν ὁ Χριστὸς ἐποίησε καὶ εἶπεν ἱστορία τίς ἐστιν· αἱ δὲ Πράξεις, ὧν ὁ ἕτερος Παράκλητος εἶπεν καὶ ἐποίησεν. (MPG LX, 21). See Gaertner, op. cit., 28.

[26]This fact betrays the influence of the Jewish, and specifically the Old Testament tradition on Luke's writing. The Greek historians did not share this view of God, as is shown inter alia by the prominence given to the theme of cause and effect, leaving little scope for a personally intervening God. The Greek historian examined the motives of his characters and sought objective reasons for what happened, while the Jewish historian saw Yahweh's activity behind all history. See Gaertner, op. cit., 12, 18, 22f., 26.

On the distance ideologically between Josephus and Luke, it is instructive to study BJ I.xix.4. Here Herod delivers a long address to encourage his troops in the war against the Arabs. It is characterized by quasi-philosophical words of wisdom, and a great part is devoted to explaining an earthquake which has taken place. This is not a supernatural omen, as his men think, but has natural causes. That Josephus conforms to the Hellenistic tradition in the literary composition of speeches is seen from the fact that in another historical work, the Antiquities, he has Herod

The concern to proclaim the Gospel governs Acts, as well as the Gospel narrative, and the speeches of Acts are the vehicle through which this concern is expressed. It is the Jewish tradition of writing history which appears best to account for these attitudes and devices.[27] This is not to say that Luke was ignorant of the Greek tradition of historical writing and its principles.[28] But in attitude and practice, he has been more strongly influenced by the Jewish

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deliver the same speech under the same circumstances, and yet the two speeches are quite different (Ant. XV.v.3). On the ideology of the speech see A. Schlatter, Die Theologie des Judentums nach dem Bericht des Josefus (1932), 32ff.

[27]It is the merit of Gaertner, op. cit., 7-37, to have called attention to this fact and to have substantiated it with convincing evidence. He rightly asks of those who hold that Luke is to be understood wholely in the light of the Hellenistic tradition of the composition of speeches, "What contemporary author would have neglected to make a regular speech of the pro-consul Gallio's contribution at the judgment seat at Corinth, 18:4f., which, as it stands, consists of one short utterance only." [The speech of the silversmith Demetrius to his fellow workmen in Ephesus can also be mentioned here, 19:25ff.] Cf. E. Norden, Agnostos Theos (1913), who remarks that Luke's editorial work has its closest parallel in the Old Testament: "Diese Art von Literatur [die alttestementlichen Chronisten] musst ihm [Lukas] naeher liegen als alles von hellenischer Geschichtschreibung" (330f.). Gaertner rather finds Luke's immediate background in a group of Jewish writings from the Hellenistic age, such as I - II Maccabees.

[28]See above, n.2 Dibelius, op. cit., 178f. lists some of Luke's literary devices, which may be prompted by familiarity with the Hellenistic tradition. It is also possible that Luke modelled Acts on Hellenistic lines, where the journeys of the hero formed a framework for examples of teaching or miracles, as suggested by W. L. Knox, Some Hellenistic Elements in Primitive Christianity (1944), 13.

tradition.

The criticism that the brevity of the speeches of Acts underscores the improbability that they are a record of what was actually said on a given occasion contains an element of truth. The speeches in Luke-Acts are not <u>verbatim</u> reports of all that was said on any occasion, but purport to be summaries of reliable tradition. This is indicated clearly at two crucial places in his work. The first occurrence is in the Gospel, after an address by John the Baptist, which has been interrupted by questions from the crowd, tax gatherers and soldiers (Lk. 3:7-17): πολλὰ μὲν οὖν καὶ ἕτερα παρακαλῶν εὐηγγελίζετο τὸν λαόν (Lk. 3:18). This remark occurs after the first important speech in the Gospel, and is the Lucan device for indicating that only a summary of what was actually said has been given. In Acts a similar statement occurs after the first major address of the book: ἑτέροις τε λόγοις πλείοσιν διεμαρτύρατο, καὶ παρακάλει αὐτοὺς λέγων· σώθητε ἀπὸ τῆς γενεᾶς τῆς σκολιᾶς ταύτης (Acts 2:40). The language of these statements is strikingly similar, yet as far as I can discern no attention has been focused upon their significance for the treatment of speech material in the Gospel as well as in Acts. It cannot be demonstrated that Luke has used different principles in dealing with the material available to him in the two parts of his work. These statements, occurring after the initial

address of the Gospel and of Acts, are programmatic for the other speeches in Luke-Acts, which are summaries of much longer addresses given on various occasions.[29]

Within the missionary sermons the recurrence of certain themes and motifs, giving the impression of some underlying scheme or formal structure, is striking. The great similarity between the different sermons has been claimed as evidence that the speeches are stylized compositions by Luke. It was Dibelius' opinion that the missionary sermons reflect the preaching with which Luke would be familiar in the ninth decade of the first century.[30] To judge from such sources

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[29]To Luke's indication that a speaker said more than has actually been imparted, parallels can be cited from the Hellenistic historians. See Dibelius, op. cit., 178, n.72. What has not been noticed is that Luke's practice in the Gospel is the same as in the Acts; brevity characterizes the reporting of Jesus' address at the Synagogue of Nazareth (Lk. 4:17-27), or the words of the Risen Lord to his disciples (Lk.24:44-49), even as it does the sermons in Acts. The literary principle involved is the same in both halves of Luke's work.

[30]Dibelius, op. cit., 165; (on p. 184 does Dibelius contradict this opinion when he states, "The missionary sermons, with their repetitions, have their value as sources, because they are undoubtedly derived from sermons remembered by the community for a long time before . . . "?) Contrast Gaertner, op. cit., 30-33, who studies the outline of the kerygma and notes that in the epistles of Paul all of the essential points are represented, and those passages which reveal particular affinity with the apostolic message show signs of being older formulas or expressions for the kerygma, e.g. I Thess. 1:9f.; I Cor. 15:3f.; Rom. 1:1-4; 8:34; 14:9. He concludes: "We can therefore venture to say that the sermon type found in the Acts exemplifies the apostolic message as promulgated by Peter and Paul" (33).

as I Clement, II Clement, the "Two Ways" discourse of the Didache or Barnabas, this opinion is without foundation. It is rather to I Cor. 15:3ff., in a passage in which Paul appeals to the early Jerusalem kerygma, that it is necessary to turn for a parallel to the content of the early speeches of Acts.[31] There is no doubt that Luke is responsible to a significant degree for the outer form and language of the speeches, but the parallel in motif between the sermons in Acts and Paul's schematized rehearsal of the Jerusalem kerygma tends to support the contention that Luke has preserved specimens of early Jerusalem preaching. The fragments and summaries of the proclamation which have been preserved are both schematic and brief, with the result that they appear to lack nuances. But Paul insists that both he and the Jerusalem apostles had the same essential message to proclaim, and he expects the kerygma to be recognized in outline whether in Jerusalem or in Corinth (I Cor. 15:11). This accounts to a large degree for the similarity, and apparent interdependence of thought in the speeches of Acts. A careful analysis, moreover, reveals shades of difference between the speeches of Peter and Paul in Acts, which should not be overlooked.

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[31] On this passage see now B. Gerhardsson, op. cit., 280ff., and esp. 299-306, where he exegetes I Cor. 15:3ff. in terms of a series of simanim; each individual part is a short, heading-like designation for some passage of the tradition about Jesus.

The archaic christology of the Petrine speeches has no parallel in the sermons of Paul, nor in his epistles.[32] The expectation that the parousia of Jesus will be conditioned by a national repentance on the part of the Jews appears only in the earliest expressions of Peter,[33] and is wholely absent from the latter half of Acts. These characteristics can be ascribed plausibly to a primitive source. On the other hand, the reference to justification by Jesus "from all things, from which you could not be justified by the law of Moses" (Acts 13:38f.), as well as the reference to "the Church of God, which he purchased through His own blood" (Acts 20:28) are typical Pauline traits to which nothing in the first twelve chapters of Acts corresponds. Within the sermons themselves different types of address must be differentiated, if the distinctiveness of the several speeches is to be appreciated.[34]

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[32] E.g. παῖς (on which see below), ἀρχηγὸς καὶ σωτηρ, ἀρχηγὸς τῆς ζωῆς . On the primitive character of the Palestinian stratum in Acts 3-4 see J. Gewiess, "Der Urapostolische Heilsverkuendigung nach der Apostelgeschichte," Breslauer Studien zur historischen Theologie N.F.5 (1939), 38-57, 75-81; E. Lohmeyer, Gottesknecht und Davidsohn (1945), 143.

[33] E.g. Acts 3:19-21, on which see below, 126-131.

[34] Bo Reicke, "A Synopsis of Early Christian Preaching in The Root of the Vine (1953), 132-160, distinguishes between four forms of preaching: (i) conversion, including admonition and invitation; (ii) instruction and edification; (iii) testament; (iv) revelation. Gaertner, op. cit., 34f. classifies the sermons according to function: (i) those addressed to Jews; (ii) Stephen's speech, a Christian-Hellen-

The evidence would appear to support Gaertner's conclusion "that the apostolic message in Acts is substantially authentic as regards motifs and themes."[35] It is not improbable that Luke turned to οἱ ἀπ' ἀρχῆς αὐτόπται καὶ ὑπηρέται γενόμενοι τοῦ λογοῦ as well as to other sources to enable him to give specimens of the apostolic kerygma. In his preface he states that his Gospel came to be written in this way (Lk. 1:3), and the fact that the preface to the Gospel is also the preface to Acts lends credance to this suggestion.[36] In this dissertation the essential reliability of traditional elements in the speeches of Acts as sources for reconstructing the thinking of the early Church is accepted as the most plausible conclusion in the light of the evidence.[37]

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istic variant of Jewish Diaspora propaganda speech; (iii) those addresses to Gentiles; (iv) Paul's farewell address which shows elements of "community preaching" and "testament."

[35]Gaertner, op. cit., 35.

[36]It is perhaps significant that the term ἀσφάλεια Lk. 1:4, and words with the same stem are to be found, in the New Testament, primarily in Luke. They frequently convey the transferred sense of accuracy or exactness in regard to knowledge of what has happened, e.g. Acts 21:34; 22:30; 25:26. On the terms see Ropes, op. cit., 67-70; K. L. Schmidt, art., ἀσφάλεια κ.τ.λ., TWNT I (1933), 503.

[37]Among those agreeing with this position may be mentioned E. Jacquier, Les Actes des Apôtres (1926), cclix-cclxxxvi; F. F. Bruce, The Speeches in the Acts of the Apostles (1942); P. Benoit, "Les origines du Symbole des Apôtres dans le Nouveau Testament," Lumière et Vie 2 (1946), 39-60; Gaertner, op. cit., 7-36. It is not without significance

B. The Relative Primitiveness of the Tradition

It is not sufficient, however, to form a judgment concerning the essential reliability of traditional elements within the speeches in Acts. It is necessary to investigate those elements of the speech recorded in the third chapter of Acts which commend confidence in its primitive character. Since Acts 3:19-21 contains a significant expression of periodization, it will be important to determine the relative degree of primitiveness which may be predicated for its distinctive formulation. If this statement is genuinely primitive in character, other illustrations of periodization may be seen as expressions and modifications of an understanding held first by the early Jerusalem community. A basis for confidence in the primitive character of the formulations recorded in the speech of Acts 3 may be found in its possible Aramaic sub-structure, its παῖς Christology, and in the tenor of the hope held out for Israel.

1. The Question of an Aramaic Sub-structure

The subject of the early chapters of Acts is the church in Jerusalem. The background of the narrative is

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that even those scholars who reject the essential reliability of the speeches of Acts as a whole qualify their judgment with respect to Acts 2 and 3, which contain undoubtedly archaic formulations (e.g. 2:22-24; 3:13-19): see R. Bultmann, Die Geschichte der Synoptischen Tradition[4] (1958), 396; Dibelius, op. cit., 133, 165f. 169.

clearly Judean. There is evidence that the worship of this earliest Jewish-Christian community was carried on in the vernacular, Aramaic,[38] and it is antecedantly probable that if written documents or notes emanated from the community, they would be written in Aramaic.[39] The idea that a Semitic source or sources lies behind the early chapters of Acts was

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[38]Primary evidence that the Jerusalem Church used Aramaic is found in the ancient liturgical prayer, מרנא תא. That this prayer was not translated, but merely transliterated (μαράνα θά) in a Greek epistle (I Cor. 16:22), and that it is preserved in its original form up until the time of the composition of the Didache (10:6), is suggestive of the extraordinarily important role which this prayer must have played in primitive Christian devotion. Helpful studies of this prayer are those of K. G. Kuhn, art., μαρανα θά TWNT IV (1942), 470-475; J. Marty, "Étude de textes cultuels de prière contenus dans le Nouveau Testament," RHPhR 9 (1929), 234f.; O. Cullmann, Urchristentum und Gottesdienst (1950), 16f., 19f. Ch. Bruston, "A propos de quelques textes de'prière cultuelles' du Nouveau Testament," RHPhR 10 (1930), 287f. argues unconvincingly that Maranatha is not a prayer but an exhortation to "come to the Lord." The Aramaic could be pointed מָרַן אֲתָא, so that what is intended is the declaration "The Lord is coming;" but in Rev. 22:20, the prayer is preserved in Greek, and the imperative sense is primary: Ἀμήν, ἔρχου Κύριε Ἰησοῦ. That Luke had to deal with Aramaic materials is further suggested by the reference to Akeldama in Acts 1:19.

[39]Caution must be exercised in any statement about documents emanating from the Aramaic speaking community. It is significant that an increasing number of students of Acts deny the necessity of looking for written sources apart from a minimum. Through sheer force of circumstances Luke had to depend for his information on what he was able to learn from oral report. The fact that his record of early Christianity contains teaching or elements which are undoubtedly primitive is no indication that he used a written source as opposed to an oral one. See H. F. D. Sparks, "The Semitisms of the Acts," JTS n.s.1 (1950), 23-26; W. G. Kuemmel, "Das Urchristentum," ThR 10 (1942), 167-173; 18 (1950), 16-21.

suggested by E. Nestle (1896),[40] and was commended as probable by A. Harnack (1908).[41] It was C. C. Torrey, however, who presented most fully the evidence for supposing that the early chapters of Acts rest upon an originally Aramaic foundation.[42] It was his contention that the idiom of the first half of Acts was of such a character that it betrayed dependence upon a single Aramaic document. Primary evidence in support of this theory was a series of passages in which obscure or "impossible" Greek becomes intelligible if translated, word for word, into Aramaic. This evidence was corroborated at a number of lesser points, where the Greek is more intelligible if it be regarded as translation-idiom.

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[40] E. Nestle, "Einige Beobachtungen zum Codex Bezae," ThStKr 69 (1896), 102-113. But as long ago as C. Kuinoel, Commentarius in Novum Testamentum IV (1818), Proleg. § 4, xii-xv, we find reference to earlier suggestion that the Semitic forms of the early chapters of Acts indicate derivation from a Semitic source such as an Acts of Peter.

Epiphanius (Haer. xxx.3, 13) states that the contemporary Christians of Tiberius used beside the "Hebrew Matthew" Aramaic translations of the Fourth Gospel and of the Book of Acts. On the priority of the Greek Acts to such an Aramaic document see B. W. Bacon, "More Philological Criticisms of Acts," AJTh 22 (1918), 6f. He concludes (p.7): "So far as known documents are concerned, the Greek are the earlier. This applies especially to the type of document known as Acts (πράξεις), Preachings (κηρύγματα), or Travels (περίοδοι) of Apostles. It is a Greek type of literature."

[41] A. Harnack, Die Apostelgeschichte (1908), 184-186.

[42] C. C. Torrey, Composition and Date of Acts (1916). With an acknowledgment of Torrey's influence, J. A. Montgomery published, "Some Aramaisms in the Gospels and Acts," JBL 46 (1927), 69-73.

These examples vary in significance from those in which the Greek construction is extremely harsh, if not impossible, to those in which it would scarcely attract notice if found elsewhere, but deserves attention if the theory of an Aramaic substratum is seriously entertained. Torrey expressed his conviction with characteristic vigor:

> It is not enough to speak of frequent Semitisms; the truth is that the language of all these fifteen chapters is translation-Greek through and through, generally preserving even the order of the words. In the remainder of the book, chs. xvi-xxviii, the case is altogether different. Here there is no evidence of an underlying Semitic language. The few apparent Semitisms . . . are chargeable to the κοινή; though their presence may be due in part to the influence of the translation-Greek which Luke had so extensively read and written. In either case they are negligible.[43]

The accuracy of this conviction was challenged by F. C. Burkitt,[44] H. J. Cadbury,[45] and J. de Zwaan,[46] among oth-

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[43] Ibid., 7-8. Torrey's case was found to be convincing by B. W. Bacon, "More Philological Criticisms of Acts," AJTh 22 (1918), 1-23; J. W. Wilson, "Some Observations on the Aramaic Acts," HTR 11 (1918), 74-99; Idem, "The Unity of the Aramaic Acts," HTR 11 (1918), 322-335; and with some reservations by F. J. Foakes-Jackson, "Professor C. C. Torrey on the Acts," HTR 10 (1917), 352-361; C. A. Scott, "An Aramaic Source for Acts i.-xv.," ET 31 (1919/20), 220-223; F. J. Foakes-Jackson and K. Lake, "The Internal Evidence of Acts," BC II (1922), 121-145; cf. 173; and G. A. Barton, "Professor Torrey's Theory of the Aramaic Origin of the Gospels and the First Half of the Acts of the Apostles," JTS 36 (1935), 357-373 (accepts the argument for Acts alone).

[44] F. C. Burkitt, "Professor Torrey on Acts," JTS 20 (1919), 320-329; Idem, "Acts 2:47," JBL 37 (1918), 234.

[45] H. J. Cadbury, "Luke--Translator or Author," AJTh 24 (1920), 436-485.

[46] J. de Zwaan, "The Use of the Greek Language in Acts," BC II (1922), 30-65.

ers.[47] de Zwaan, for example, pointed out that there were far more Semitisms in the latter half of Acts than Torrey had been willing to recognize,[48] and that within the first half of Acts there were stretches of strong and weak passages which had to be evaluated individually.[49] His own conclusion was that the case for an Aramaic sub-stratum was strong for 1:6-5:16 and 9:31-11:18,[50] but weak or indecisive for the remaining passages in which Torrey had detected his Aramaic document. In his judgment the evidence for the existence or unity of a single Aramaic document was not impressive.

Of those passages in which Torrey detected evidence of mistranslation, Acts 3:16 appeared decisive to de Zwaan.

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[47] In order of appearance, F. M. J. Vosté, Review of Torrey's Monograph, RB 14 (1917), 300-303; A. A. Vazakas, "Is Acts I-XV.35 a Literal Translation from an Aramaic Original?" JBL 37 (1918), 105-110; G. C. Glanville, "The Aramaic Acts," ET 31 (1919/20), 38-41; E. J. Goodspeed, "The Origin of Acts," JBL 39 (1920), 86-97; D. W. Riddle, "The Logic of the Theory of Translation Greek," JBL 51 (1932), 13-30; G. A. Barton, "Professor Torrey's Theory of the Aramaic Origin of the Gospels and the First Half of Acts of the Apostles," JTS 36 (1935), 357-373; and most recently H. F. D. Sparks, "The Semitisms of the Acts," JTS n.s.1 (1950), 16-22. Cf. also J. G. Machen, "Recent Criticism of the Books of Acts," PTR 17 (1919), 585-593; H. Windisch, "Englisch-Amerikanischer Literatur zum NT in den Jahren 1914 bis 1920," ZNW 20 (1921), 147-149; G. Kittel, Die Problems des palaestinischen Spaetjudentums und das Urchristentums (1926), 57f. For a summary of the debate see Appendix I, "The Aramaic Acts."

[48] de Zwaan, op. cit., 45-46. Cf. Sparks, op. cit., 20-21.

[49] Ibid., 48-53.

[50] Ibid., 48,50,55,60.

The Greek text reads:

> καὶ τῇ πίστει τοῦ ὀνόματος αὐτοῦ τοῦτον ὃν θεωρεῖτε καὶ οἴδατε ἐστερέωσεν τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ καὶ ἡ πίστις ἡ δι' αὐτοῦ ἔδωκεν αὐτῷ τὴν ὁλοκληρίαν ταύτην ἀπέναντι πάντων ὑμῶν.

Several attempts have been made to get rid of the awkwardness of the sentence as it stands in Greek. F. C. Burkitt suggested that a colon be placed before ΤΟΥΤΟΝ , and the preceeding words be joined to v.15:

> τὸν δὲ ἀρχηγὸν τῆς ζωῆς ἀπεκτείνατε, ὃν ὁ θεὸς ἤγειρεν ἐκ νεκρῶν, οὗ ἡμεῖς μάρτυρές ἐσμεν καὶ τῇ πίστει τοῦ ὀνόματος αὐτοῦ· τοῦτον ὃν θεωρεῖτε καὶ οἴδατε ἐστερέωσε τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ....
>
> "You killed the Prince of Life, whom God raised from the dead, of whom we are witnesses, even to faith in his name: this man whom you see and know, His name has made strong. . . . "

By this punctuation "'ugly repetition' is turned into characteristically Lucan rhetoric."[51] The flaw in this proposed solution is the awkwardness, if not the improbability, of having the genitive οὗ and the dative τῇ πίστει together dependent upon μάρτυρές ἐσμεν.[52] H. J. Cadbury and K. Lake

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[51]Burkitt, op. cit., 324-325.

[52]The concordance does not indicate any instance of μάρτυς with a dative; the genitive is the usual idiom, so that what would be expected on Burkitt's supposition is τῆς πίστεως. Foakes-Jackson and Lake (BC II, 142-143, n.3) note further that the use of τοῦτον in this passage does not appear to be parallel to the instances of a "resumptive" τοῦτον which Burkitt cites; "it needs the καὶ before τῇ πίστει to make it natural. It should be noted that the Western text seems to have taken Burkitt's view and inserted ἐπί before τῇ πίστει in order to make it possible."

suggest primitive corruption in the text; τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ may have been a marginal gloss to explain διʼ αὐτοῦ.[53] The subject of the verb then would be God, which would make excellent sense. C. C. Torrey, however, was able to account for the awkwardness of the passage by retroversion of the Greek into Aramaic:

ובהימנתא די שמה להדן די חזין אנתון וידעין אנתון תקף שמה
והימנתא די בה יהבה לה חלימות אדא קדם כלבון:

The translator appears to have read in the middle of this sentence תַּקֵּף שְׁמֵהּ (= ἐστερέωσε τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ), while what was intended was תַּקֵּף שָׁמֵהּ (= ὑγιῆ κατέστησεν αὐτόν or ὑγιῆ ἐποίησεν αὐτόν).[54] This would suit the context, and would run on naturally from what had preceded it drawing the subject for ὑγιῆ κατέστησεν from the ὁ θεός of v.15: "and by faith in His name He has made whole this man whom you see and know." This is an attractive solution to the difficulty, for the suggested mistake on the part of the translator (whether Luke or his source) is a very natural one: when he had before him the same letters שמה which before were correctly read as שְׁמֵהּ (his name), it did not occur to him to read them as שָׁמֵהּ. The suggested Aramaic is easy in itself, but admits of a misreading which could account for the state of the Greek text as it now stands.

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[53] BC IV (1933), 36-37; cf. BC II (1922), 142, n.1.

[54] Torrey, op. cit., 14-16.

A number of Torrey's critics accepted his conjecture as convincing,[55] while none of them sought to question this particular illustration of "mistranslation" on linguistic or exegetical grounds. Yet a certain caution should be exercised before considering Torrey's case as demonstrated. His retroversion of the Greek into unpointed Aramaic may be accepted as substantially correct, but his analysis of the proposed mistranslation is open to challenge. Torrey contends that the translator read in the middle of the sentence תקף שמה, while what was intended was תקף שמה; the radicals תקף were read as a verb (ἐστερέωσεν), when what was demanded was a noun (ὑγιᾶ). The larger context of v.16, however, favors the understanding of (the assumed) תקפ not

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[55] The suggestion is accepted as convincing by de Zwaan, op. cit., 50; F. J. Foakes-Jackson and K. Lake, BC II (1922), 141-142; F. J. Foakes-Jackson, "Professor C. C. Torrey on the Acts," op. cit., 353; C. A. Scott, op. cit., 221; and F. F. Bruce, The Acts of the Apostles (1951), 110.

The only critic of Torrey who dealt specifically with Acts 3:16 was Cadbury, op. cit., 450, n.2 who comments: "Even if there is no satisfactory explanation of the Greek, the hypothesis of translation does not any more effectively acquit Luke of a carelessness in these cases, which is inconsistent with his more careful composition (or translation) elsewhere. Thus, if the awkward sentences like those in 3:16; 8:7; 10:36f. are really to be accepted as the original Greek form of the text and not attributed to scribal corruption (for the habit of scribes in their bad points as well as in their good ones are closely parallel to those of translators), then surely it is possible to attribute to Luke, who whether translating or composing knew Greek idiom when he saw it, a lapse in his own Greek as to accept the ingenious mistranslation which Torrey has discovered."

as a noun, but as a verb. The verb ἐστερέωσεν in v.16 clearly echoes an earlier use of the verb in v.7: παραχρῆμα δὲ ἐστερεώθησαν αἱ βάσεις αὐτοῦ καὶ τὰ σφυδρά. Presumably a form of קרס accounts for the presence of the verb in both verses, and while in v.16 it would be possible to read the radicals either as a noun or verb, in v.7 the verbal form is demanded. The probability of mistranslation in v.16 is accordingly lessened.

To point this out merely serves to emphasize that in an analysis of the Greek text in the light of a proposed Aramaic sub-stratum all that can be offered is possibility. It is important to recognize the fact that any Greek tradition of the earliest Jerusalem community that has any claims to historicity must be built ultimately on a Semitic foundation: and traces of the influence of that foundation may be expected, even in a quite advanced stage of the building. It is probable that an Aramaic source, whether oral or written, accounts generally for the Semitisms which are scattered throughout the third chapter of Acts,[56] and particularly for

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[56] E.g. 3:2, (ἐτίθουν), the impersonal plural [see M. Black, An Aramaic Approach to the Synoptic Gospels and Acts[2] (1954), 91-93]; 3:6 (ὃ δὲ ἔχω, τοῦτο σοι δίδωμι); 3:10 (ἐπεγίνωσκον δὲ αὐτόν, ὅτι οὗτος ἦν . . .,) casus pendens (Ibid., 34-38); 3:13, 25, 26 asyndeton (Ibid., 38-44); 3:8 (καὶ . . . καὶ . . . καὶ . . . καὶ . . . καί) paratactic structure (Ibid., 44-51).

Examples of Aramaic accounting for textual variants (=translation variants): 3:14 (see Torrey, Documents of the Primitive Church [1941], 144f.; M. Black, op. cit., 194); 3:17 (see Black, op. cit., 179).

the awkward construction in Acts 3:16. But critical evaluation of Torrey's presentation indicates that in a discussion of Semitisms no more can be done than to balance possibilities. Proof that in Acts 3 we are in touch with the primitive community must rest on stronger evidence.

2. The παῖς Christology

The second factor which must be evaluated is the terminology of the Speech. It was in the context of his review of Torrey's work on the "Aramaic Acts" that F. C. Burkitt first expressed his judgment on the παῖς Christology of Acts 3 and 4. It was Burkitt's contention that the presence of such a Christology was decisive against the theory of a primitive Semitic source; it is in a Hellenistic context, not a Semitic one, that the term is of significance. In Greek the term παῖς may mean either servant, child or son, and therefore conveys no offensive meaning; but its Semitic counter-term עבד can only mean slave. That the primitive church could think of Jesus as God's slave, according to Burkitt, is incredible.[57] It is possible, he argues, that

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For Torrey's suggestive treatment of Acts 3:20, 21 see CDA, op. cit., 7, 29.

[57]It is certain that in later Christianity the term παῖς was fused with the thought of υἱός when applied to Jesus. The Latin Church came early to render παῖς as filius, not only in the New Testament, but also in the Old and in passages like IV Ezra 7:29 "my servant/son, the Messiah." The occurrence and identification of παῖς κυρίου and υἱὸς θεοῦ in Wisd. 2:13 and 18 respectively may have encouraged

Luke was familiar with the term παῖς as a title of Jesus from the Christian worship in the Hellenistic churches of his day, and he has anachronistically attributed its use to Peter and the earliest Christian Community. "But it is essentially a Greek title, essentially un-Semitic; it is only in Greek that the quite distinct idea of 'son' and 'slave' can be combined in one term. . . . The convenient term is essentially Greek and cannot be presented in Aramaic."[58] Burkitt developed this argument more carefully in Christian Beginnings, where he contended that Paul, John, the Apocalypse, Mark and Q show no influence of the Servant concept, although that influence is represented in Matthew (8:17), I Peter, (2:22ff.), Hebrews (9:28) and especially Luke-Acts. "That is to say, the writers who use the Greek Bible exclusively are on one side, while those who, like Saint Paul, have access to Semitic forms and interpretations of the OT are on the other."[59] From this evidence Burkitt deduced that there

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the Christian understanding of the terms as synonyms. In the LXX, however, little support for the identification could be found, since בן was translated by υἱός over 4000 times, and by παῖς only twice (Prov.4:1; 20:7). A striking illustration of Burkitt's contention that the [not primitive but later] Church could not think of Jesus as God's slave may be found in the Peshitto translation of Acts 4:25-30. The term 'ebed (عبد) is used at v.25 when translating παῖς of David, but at vv.27, 30 when translating παῖς of Jesus the term used is bar (ابر). See further, J. Jeremias, art., παῖς θεοῦ, RWNT V (1954), 680f., n. 196.

[58] F. C. Burkitt, "Professor Torrey on Acts," JTS 20 (1919), 328f.

[59] F. C. Burkitt, Christian Beginnings (1924), 38f.

was a strong presumption that the use of Servant motifs to express the Passion and Character of Jesus was the work of Gentile Christians, familiar only with the Bible in Greek. These Christians failed to understand that the original word behind παῖς meant "slave." There work represents "a very early stage of Greek-speaking Christianity, but it is not quite primitive or apostolic."[60]

Burkitt was not alone in this conviction. F. J. Foakes-Jackson and K. Lake, in a study of possible influence of the Isaianic figure of the Suffering Servant upon the Passion narrative, asserted that references to the Servant are scanty in the NT, being confined to the more Hellenistic writings. It was not until Luke-Acts that the connection of Jesus' ministry with the Suffering Servant was actually made. In Luke 4:18 and Acts 10:36 Jesus is clearly identified with the figure of Isaiah 61, but with no thought of suffering. In Luke 22:37,[61] however, and Acts 8:32 quotations from Isaiah 53 are applied to the Passion. The conclusion to which they felt driven agreed with Burkitt's:

> It is tempting to suggest that the interpretation of Isaiah 53 as a prophecy of Jesus was introduced by Hellenistic Christians, for there is no positive evidence of its existence in sources which certainly represent that thought of the first disciples in Jerusalem, but it

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[60] Ibid., 41.

[61] Cf. J. M. Creed, The Gospel according to St. Luke (1930), 271.

was clearly part of the teaching of Philip.[62]
On the more narrow issue of the Suffering Servant, to assign the concept to Philip is to predicate an early stage in Greek-speaking Christianity. But, to use Burkitt's phrase, "it is not quite primitive or apostolic." Can this judgment be substantiated?

The term παῖς is used of Jesus four times in Acts, twice in Peter's speech in Solomon's porch (3:13,26) and twice in the context of a prayer of the disciples (4:27,30). In each case the term is followed by a genitive pronoun (αὐτοῦ or σου) meaning "God's" and in each of the instances except one by an appositive "Jesus." Apart from these passages the concept of παῖς θεοῦ appears in the New Testament only in Matt. 12:18; Luke 1:54,69 and Acts 4:25. Thus except for the quotation of Isaiah 42:1 in Matt. 12:18 (ἰδοὺ ὁ παῖς μου ὃν ἡρέτισα), the term is used with the special

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[62] F. J. Foakes-Jackson and K. Lake, BC I (1920), 381-392, esp. 391. Cf. Burkitt, Christian Beginnings (1924), 35-37. H. J. Cadbury, "The Titles of Jesus in Acts," BC V (1933), esp. 364-370 [on παῖς] warned against the assumption that παῖς terminology is necessarily drawn from the Servant Songs of Isaiah. (The evidence that παῖς θεοῦ is an Old Testament form of expression with no implication of any one particular figure is impressive). But he did not express his judgment whether the concept of Jesus as παῖς is to be traced to Hellenistic Christianity. For such an assertion see W. Bousset, Kyrios Christos (1926), 69-72; R. Bultmann, Jesus and the Word (1935), 213f.; Theologie des Neuen Testaments (1958), 32-33. The literature asserting that Servant Christology is not only primitive, but may be traced back to Jesus himself is surveyed by M. D. Hooker, Jesus and the Servant (1959), 6-16. See further J. Jeremias, art., παῖς θεοῦ , TWNT V (1954), 676-713, esp. 709-713.

meaning παις θεοῦ only in Luke-Acts.[63] In the light of Luke's known dependence upon the Septuagint it will be necessary to examine briefly the Old Testament, and particularly the Septuagintal use of this terminology.

In the Old Testament the phrase "my servant" occurs often as a description of outstanding men of God. The phrase is used particularly of Moses,[64] but also of the Patriarchs, Joshua, Job, David, Daniel, Isaiah and even Nebuchadnezzar.[65] The term is one of dignity and special honor, and is restricted in its use to an individual's relationship to Yahweh, not to his fellow-men.[66] The expression is thoroughly Hebraic, and its continued use can be traced back to portions of the

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[63] Both Luke and Matthew use the word παῖς occasionally in a general sense, meaning either "child" or servant, while John uses it once in this way. For the general meaning "child" see Matt. 2:16; 17:18; 21:15; Luke 2:43; 8:51,54; 9:42; Jn. 4:51; Acts 20:12; for the meaning "servant," Matt. 8:6, 8, 13; 14:2; Luke 7:7; 12:45; 15:26.

[64] E.g. Exod. 14:31; Num. 12:7f; Deut. 34:5; Josh.1: 2,7; II Kings 18:12; I Chron. 6:49; II Chron. 24:9; Neh. 10: 29; Mal. 4:4. Cf. W. Zimmerli, "Der עבד יהוה im AT," TWNT V (1954), 662. In the Mishnah the three sole occurrences of the title "Servant of God" are applied to Moses. These occur in the three confessional formulae of the high priest on the Day of Atonement; the text of the formula is בתורה משה עבדך (Yoma 3:8 [= Tos. Yoma 2:1] ; 4:2; 6:2).

[65] Gen. 26:24; Deut. 9:27; Ps. 105:42; Ezek. 28:25; 37:25; Josh. 24:29; Judges 2:8; Job 1:8; 2:3; 42:8; II Sam.3: 18; Pss. 18 and 36 (headings); Dan. 6:20; Isa. 20:3; Jer.25: 9; 27:6; 43:10. Cf. Zimmerli, op. cit., 662-64. Sifré Deut. § 27, on 3:24 produces a long list of these OT figures described as "servants of God."

[66] W. Zimmerli, op. cit., 660f.

[67] E.g. Shemoneh 'Esreh, 15th Beraka (Babylonian re-

liturgy which date to the period of the Second Temple.[67]

In the Septuagint the word עבד was translated primarily by δοῦλος and παῖς ,[68] together with appropriate genitive constructions. In a careful examination of the vocabulary and distribution of the Greek equivalents to עבד in the Septuagint W. Zimmerli has shown that two groups of writings stand out, reflecting two phases in the translation history of the Septuagint.[69] The earliest unit of translation was the Hexateuch. While παῖς is dominant especially in Genesis and Joshua, other words are freely used. The most striking feature in these books is the almost complete absense of δοῦλος to translate the religious עבד phrase.[70]

The second unit of translation, Judges to IV βασ., is marked

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cension); an old Musaf prayer which is interpolated on the days of the new moon on into the 17th (16th) benediction reads זכרון משיח בן דויד עבדך. See S. R. Hirsch, סדור תפלות ישראל Israels Gebete (1921), 146, 274; 624. The third benediction after the reading of the prophets in the worship service; "make us to rejoice, O Lord our God באליהו הנביא עבדך" (Hirsch, 342).

[68]Zimmerli's figures for the several equivalents to עבד in the LXX are: παῖς (παιδίον, παιδάριον), 340 times; δοῦλος (δουλεία, δουλεύων), 327 times; οἰκέτης (οἶκος), 63 times; θεράπων (θεραπεία, θεραπεύων), 46 times; υἱός once; ὑπηρέτης once. In addition there are 56 places where there is a misunderstanding or a free translation. On pages 672-676, he analyses the terminological diversity throughout the several units of the LXX.

[69]Ibid., 672-674.

[70]Deut. 32:36 (Song of Moses) is the only text in the Hexateuch where the religious idea of δοῦλος is encountered.

by the almost exclusive use of δοῦλος in the religious terminology. In these books παῖς and δοῦλος alone are used to translate עבד, and παῖς is restricted in its use to denote only the category of free servants of the king who place themselves at his disposal by their own decision. Δοῦλος, on the other hand, expresses true essential slavery, and it is into this category that even the great figures of Israelite history, like Moses, Joshua and David, are placed. In this second phase of translation there is recognizeable a determination to express a nuance in the translation of עבד which was not contained in the Hebrew text. In the exclusive use of the harsher δοῦλος idea in religious speech Zimmerli perceives a growing awareness of the specific Old Testament consciousness of the distance between God and man, and of the fact that man belongs to God.[71]

In the later biblical books the verbal patterns distinguishable in the earlier strata of the LXX begin to get confused. In the Psalms, Ezekiel and the Minor Prophets the translation δοῦλος is dominant,[72] while in Isaiah and Daniel there is a strong preference for παῖς.[73] In Jeremiah, the

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[71] Zimmerli, op. cit., 674.

[72] Psalms: δοῦλος (55), παῖς (3); Ezekiel: δοῦλος (5), παῖς (0); Minor Prophets: δοῦλος (5), παῖς (0).

[73] Isaiah 1-39: παῖς (3), δοῦλος (0); Isaiah 40-55: παῖς (14), δοῦλος (6); Isaiah 56-66: παῖς (0), δοῦλος (3). Daniel: παῖς (12), δοῦλος (0).

confusion in expression is very marked, while in Nehemiah and Chronicles it is impossible to discern any principle governing the alteration of παῖς and δοῦλος.[74] Within the canonical books of the LXX the most striking instances of παῖς θεοῦ as a title of honor occur in the Penteteuch, where with three exceptions it consistently render the עבד יהוה or the עבדי of divine discourse.

In the period subsequent to 100 B.C. παῖς θεοῦ continues to appear with several shades of meaning, but one is struck with the relative infrequency of this phrase.[75] The meaning "child of God" is distinguishable from the more frequent "servant of God."[76] The collective use of the singular עבד יהוה as a description of Israel, which is first clearly to be seen in Deutero-Isaiah, persists in this period both in Hellenistic and Palestinian Judaism.[77] Παῖς θεοῦ continues to be used in its Old Testament sense as title of honor for outstanding servants of God,[78] and occasionally is extended

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[74]See Zimmerli, op. cit., 675.

[75]Wisd. 2:13; 9:4; 12:7,20; 19:6; Bar. 1:20; 2:20,24, 28; 3:36; Ps. Sol. 12:6; 17:21; I Esd. 6:13, 27; 8:82; Philo, Conf. Ling. 147 (once); Josephus, Ant. X. 215 (once); and in the later Greek translations of the O.T., Isa. 42:1Θ v.l.; Jer. 30:10Θ; Δαν. 3:95Θ; Deut. 34:5 Ἀλλ .

[76]Jeremias, op. cit., 676f.

[77]Zimmerli, op. cit., 660; Jeremias, op. cit., 679. The passages are Bar. 3:36 (cf. Isa. 44:2 LXX); Ps. Sol. 12:6; 17:21; Lk. 1:54 (with reference to Isa. 41:8).

[78]Jeremias, op. cit., 679f. nn 183-190. Examples are

to the Messiah.[79] In the interpretation of the Isaianic Servant of God in Jewish Hellenistic Literature subsequent to 100 B.C. the Servant is consistently called παῖς .[80] This usage prevailed until about the beginning of the second century when the translation of Aquila appeared and always translated עבד by δοῦλος.[81] His example was followed by the later translators, Theodotion and Symmachus, with the result that παῖς θεοῦ terminology fell into disuse and occurs but rarely after this point.

The material surveyed by Zimmerli and Jeremias indicates that the παῖς terminology is thoroughly Semitic in character and that for the distinctive Lucan instances of παῖς θεοῦ parallels may be cited from near contemporary Jewish sources. Thus, in the Psalms of Solomon Israel is designated God's Servant (12:7, Ἰσραὴλ παῖδα αὐτοῦ ; 17:23, Ἰσραὴλ παῖδά σου) in a manner analogous to the Lucan expression Ἰσραὴλ παιδὸς αὐτοῦ (Lk. 1:54), while

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not numerous, and, apart from Scriptural, quotations (e.g. Sifré Deut §27, on 3:24), are confined almost entirely to old formulae, especially prayers. E.g. Moses: Bar. 1:20; 2:28 (both texts from the same prayer of penitence); David: Lk.1: 69; Acts 4:25; Did. 9:2; Noah: IV Ezra 3:11 Armenian (prayer).

[79] Ibid., 680, with references cited there.

[80] Ibid., 681; Idem; art. Ἀμνὸς τοῦ θεοῦ, op. cit., 118-121.

[81] Jeremias, art. παῖς , op. cit., 681-682. Aquila consistently rendered עבד by δοῦλος outside of Isa.40ff., in rigid adherence to his translation technique of rendering Hebrew roots everywhere by the same Greek roots.

the designation of David as Δαυεὶδ παιδὸς αὐτοῦ (Lk. 1: 69), has its parallel in Jewish prayers of the first century.[82]

The strong expectation that the use of παῖς θεοῦ terminology in early Christian sources is derived from Jewish usage is confirmed by the character of the passages in the New Testament where the term is found. Each of the eight occasions in the NT where the term παῖς is used with the meaning παῖς θεοῦ occurs in a passage with definite Jewish coloring. Matt. 12:18 forms part of an actual quotation from Isaiah 42:1 and so may be discounted; in Luke the word occurs in the songs of Mary and Zachariah, the Jewish character of which is beyond dispute;[83] in Acts the phrase is found three times in an early Christian prayer, and twice in a sermon attributed to Peter, within the framework of what appears to be very early traditional material emanating from Jerusalem, in which the expectation of finding Jewish influence is very strong.[84]

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[82]The description of David as Servant of God is to be found solely in prayers, with the exception of the later O.T. translations. See the passages cited by Jeremias, 679, n.184.

[83]Cf. J. M. Creed, op. cit., 303-307; A. Plummer, The Gospel According to St. Luke[5] (1922), 30f., 38f.

[84]Cf. the discussion of sources in BC II (1922), 121-147. There is no reason to doubt that the designation παῖς, as applied to Jesus in Acts, has the meaning 'Servant' and not 'child.' This interpretation is supported not only by the normal Jewish use of the phrase but also by the fact that the title is also used of David in Acts 4:25, and of Israel and David in Lk. 1:54, 69.

Beyond these eight New Testament occurrences of the term παῖς in the meaning παῖς θεοῦ, the designation is applied to Jesus only rarely in the documents of the late first and second centuries.[85] It is primary used in a liturgical context: the instances in I Clement, the Didache and the Martyrdom of Polycarp all appear in the context of prayers, while those in the Epistle of Barnabas are quotations. The Epistle of Diognetus stands alone in its use of the term in a non-cultic context. This restricted use of the term παῖς θεοῦ tends to confirm that the designation was an early one which was very soon abandoned, apart from the conservative language of liturgy in which it lay embedded from earliest times.[86] Far from representing the language of Hellenistic Christianity, it would appear that the abandonment of the description παῖς in the general usage of the

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[85] I Clem. 59:2,3,4; Didache 9:2,3; 10:2,3; Epistle of Barnabas 6:1; 9:2; Martyrdom of Polycarp 14:1,3; 20:2; Epistle of Diognetus 8:9,11; 9:1. The meaning of the term παῖς in these passages is not uniform: the context of the phrase in Mart. Polyc. and Ep. Diogn., and probably also in I Clem., shows that the translation must be 'child' or 'son', while that in the Didache and in the Epistle of Barnabas demands "servant." On the former see especially Jeremias, 702f. In Did. 9:2 the phrase Δαυεὶδ τοῦ παιδός σου and Ἰησοῦ τοῦ παιδός σου are closely connected, as in Acts 4:25-30.

[86] Jeremias, op. cit., 700f. Jeremias, TWNT, 679 shows that in the Jewish literature from 100 B.C. on παῖς θεοῦ is used as a title of honor for outstanding instruments of God almost only in old formulae--esp. prayer (679, n.184). The description of David as 'servant of God' is to be found solely in prayers. Cf. 698 on the N. T. evidence; on Apostolic Fathers, 700.

Church was due to the decreasing Jewish influence upon Christian thought before the ever-increasing influx of Hellenistic concepts. It was under Hellenistic influence that the church gave precision to a more considered Christology, in which παῖς terminology had no place. For the phrase παῖς θεοῦ, apart from its thoroughly Semitic Old Testament associations, inevitably conveys the idea of subordination, whether παῖς be understood as "servant" or as "son." In a Greek setting the term appeared disparaging, and was soon replaced by the term υἱός, which did not imply the element of subordination integral to παῖς.[87] F. C. Burkitt's suggestion that παῖς terminology derives from the Septuagint version of the Servant Songs, and is therefore characteristic of Hellenistic, not Jerusalem, Christianity is not supported by the evidence. It is important to note that Jesus is never referred to in Acts as "the servant" but as "his servant" or "thy servant," emphasizing his special relationship to God, and forming an exact parallel to the Old Testament use of the concept עבד יהוה as a title of honor. Jewish documents from the same general period and later apply the title "Servant" to the Messiah precisely in contexts speaking of his exaltation and glory,

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[87] The difference which the Greek mentality sensed between υἱός and παῖς may be suggested in the fact that the LXX translators employed υἱός over 4000 times to render the Hebrew term בן, but παῖς only twice (Prov.4:1; 20:7). In a Christological context the difference would tend to be more sharply felt.

as does Acts 3.[88] The unmistakable Semitic coloring of the passages in Acts where the term is used lend support to the suggestion that their origin is to be found in the Jerusalem, not in the Hellenistic Community.[89] These passages represent the pronouncements of the primitive Jewish-Christian Community. It was with the rapid growth in the Greek speaking element of the Church that the term became inadequate. That Luke has preserved παῖς at all is a testimony to his fidelity to old elements in the tradition, however these elements were known to him.

On the more narrow issue of the sources of the termi-

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[88] E.g. IV Ezra 7:29 "my servant the Messiah," but thereafter (13:32,37,52; 14:9) "my servant"; II Bar. 70:9 "my servant the Messiah"; Targum to the Prophets on Isa. 52:13, 53:12, "my servant the Messiah," עבדי משיחא. In IV Ezra 7:29 the original reading is preserved by the Ethiopic, while the Latin and Syriac have altered the text to read "my son the Messiah" in keeping with the tendancy noted in n.57 above. So in 14:9 the Arabic and Ethiopic preserve "my Servant" against the rendering "my Son" in the other versions. The judgment of B. Violet is appropriate here: "Niemals haette ein Christ υἱός in παῖς verwandelt, aber sehr leicht umgekehrt," in Die Apocalypsen des Esra und des Baruch in deutsches Gestalt (1924), II, 74f. See further J. Bloch, "Some Christological Interpolations in the Ezra-Apocalypse," HTR 51 (1958), 89-92. That to Jewish minds there was nothing either impossible or derogatory in the identification of the Messiah with the 'Slave of Yahweh' is abundantly clear from the fact that in the Targum to Isaiah the Servant of the Lord is explicitly identified with the Messiah in those passages which refer to his exaltation and glory. It is also confirmed by the exegesis of Isaiah in the Midrash and Talmud.

[89] Correctly observed by W. Bousset, op. cit., 57; A. Harnack, "Die Beziehung Jesu als Knecht Gottes und ihre Geschichte in der alten Kirche," SbBA (1926), 224-238; Jeremias, op. cit., 701.

nology there is no evidence to support the contention that the παῖς concept was necessarily borrowed from the Servant Songs in Isa. 40-55.[90] The fact that in Acts 4:25-30 the designation is applied first to David, and then twice to Jesus, suggests that no particular reference is intended. The two instances in Luke's initial chapter, where the designation is applied first to Israel and then to David (Lk. 1:54, 69) confirm this impression. It is possible that in Acts 3:13, where the word παῖς is associated with other reminiscences of the fourth Servant Song[91] that the Isianic Servant

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[90]Contrary to L. L. Carpenter, Primitive Christian Application of the Doctrine of the Servant (1929), 59-62; O. Cullmann, Peter: Disciple, Apostle, Martyr (1953), 67f.; J. Jeremias, op. cit., 701f.; V. Taylor, The Atonement in the NT[2] (1945), 18f.; F. F. Bruce, The Acts of the Apostles (1951), 107f., among others. On the other side may be cited H. J. Cadbury, BC V (1933), 364-70; M. D. Hooker, op. cit., 109-112. It is significant that in those passages reflecting on the sufferings of Jesus the reference appears to be to the general theme and pattern of the prophets, rather than to any one particular passage: e.g. Acts 3:18 "the mouth of all the prophets;" 13:27 "the utterances of the prophets which are read every sabbath; 17:2 "the Scriptures," [In Acts the singular ἡ γραφή is used in 1:16; 8:32,35, each time of a particular reference, and the plural is used in 17:2,11; 18:24, 28, each time in a general sense]; 26:23, "the prophets and Moses."

[91]A Harnack, op. cit., 212-238, urges that in all four passages in Acts the author has Isa. in mind (p.217,n.3). His evidence is based on supposed parallelism in language:

Acts		Isaiah
3:13 ἐδόξασεν τὸν παῖδα αὐτοῦ Ἰησοῦν·	52:13	ἰδοὺ συνήσει ὁ παῖς μου καὶ δοξασθήσεται σφόδρα
ὃν ὑμεῖς παρεδώκατε	53:6	καὶ κύριος παρέδωκεν αὐτὸν ταῖς ἁμαρτίας ἡμῶν
4:27 τὸν ἅγιον παῖδά σου Ἰησοῦν ὃν ἔχρισας	42:1	"Behold my servant whom I uphold" (LXX less similar).

is in view. But it is clear that this is not the only possible interpretation, and that it is not demanded by the other contexts in which the designation παῖς Θεοῦ occur. The evidence suggests that the designation is used in the general sense of the Old Testament concept, emphasizing that Jesus stood in the succession of Moses, David and the prophets. The application which had been given to them was a fitting one for the primitive Church to apply to Jesus. Its use did not imply a denial of his messianic dignity, but rather an assertion that the judgment of the Jewish leaders who had condemned Jesus was wrong and had been reversed.[92] He was the righteous[93] and greater successor of those distinguished

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v.30 ἴ'ασιν 53 (Presumably vs.5, τῷ μώλωπι αὐτοῦ ἡμεῖς ἰάθημεν

H. J. Cadbury (BC V 1933 , 368) rightly points out in detail the weakness of this evidence. Even if it be judged that the association is with the עבד יהוה figure of Isa. 53 in this passage it should not be concluded that the designation παῖς is in all cases derived from Deutero-Isaiah. If the designation Servant in Acts is meant to have a primary reference to the special figure of Deutero-Isaiah, it is striking that the only ideas which have been adopted from Isa. 52-53 are those of 'delivering up' and of exaltation, while no use has been made of the two most distinctive elements in the third and fourth song, the nature of the Servant's sufferings and their atoning value.

[92]This is a dominent theme in the Petrine speeches: Acts 2:22-24, 36; 3:13-15; 4:10; 5:30-31; 10:36-40.

[93]In Acts 3:14; 7:52; 22:14 Jesus is designated ὁ δίκαιος , and the occurrence of the articular form without a noun suggests that the designation is to be understood as a title. It has been claimed L. L. Carpenter, op. cit., 48; C. C. Torrey, "The Influence of Second Isaiah in the Gospels

men of the Old Testament period whom God had graciously called "my servant." It is doubtful whether the designation ever was understood as a title.[94] But its dignity in a Jewish context is thoroughly consonant with its application by the primitive Church to Jesus.

It is even possible that the application of the Servant theme to Jesus by the primitive Church was primarily due to Petrine influence. The concept is found only in very

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and Acts," JBL 48 (1929), 29; Recueil L. Cerfaux, II (1954), 141f. that this derives from the LXX version of Isa. 53, which assumes a pointing different from that adopted by the Massoretes: δικαιῶσαι δίκαιον εὖ δουλεύοντα πολλοῖς, "to justify the just one who serves many well." It should be noted, however, that the concept of righteousness is a constant OT theme, and while the adjective "righteous" or the substantive "the righteous one" is applied to individuals, to the Anointed One and to God himself, it is used most frequently of individuals who felt themselves to be righteous before God in contrast to the unrighteousness of their persecuting enemies. [Cf. Hooker, op. cit., 143-145]. It is themes of contrast with the wicked and of an unjust persecution which are found in two of the passages in Acts, in the first of which Jesus is contrasted with a murderer, and in the second against the elect nation which had received the Law but had failed to keep it. The instances in the Gospels where δίκαιος is used of Jesus (Matt. 27:19, 24 [v.l.]; Luke 23:47), presupposing the same context, emphasize his innocence. In none of these passages is there any suggestion of assimilation to the complex of ideas behind Isa. 53:11 LXX. Cf. H. Dechent, "Der 'Gerechte'--eine Bezeichnung fuer den Messias," ThStKr 100 (1927/28), 439-443.

[94]Cullmann, op. cit., 67 claims that in 3:26 we have a Christological title: "Jesus-Pais, exactly as later one will be accustomed to say Jesus-Christ. Similarly one gets the clear impression in the next chapter, 4:27 and 4:30 that pais is used almost as a fixed term; it is tending to become a proper name, just as occurred in the name Christ." In this judgment he appears to stand alone.

primitive tradition and primarily in sources associated with the name of Peter. This is the position adopted by Oscar Cullmann,[95] who notes that the four occasions in Acts where the title παῖς θεοῦ is applied to Jesus all occur in one section, in chapters 3 and 4, and that Jesus is called παῖς θεοῦ nowhere else in the New Testament. Of these occurrences in Acts two are embedded in a speech attributed to Peter and two in a prayer spoken in unison by the Jerusalem group of disciples when Peter is present. "It is probably not too bold to conclude from this fact that the author thus preserves the clear memory that it was the apostle Peter who by preference designated Jesus as the 'Suffering Servant of God.'"[96] This suggestion is plausible in the light of a recent attempt to date the παῖς Christology. In an article examining the Servant problem in its relation to the Marcan Passion-sayings,[97] Vincent Taylor has argued that the Servant idea, as applied to Jesus, is almost wholly lacking in the later epistles of the New Testament, and appears in Paul only in passages taken over from a previous tradition. In

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[95] Cullmann, op. cit., 66-69; cf. L. L. Carpenter, op. cit., 62, 161-167.

[96] Ibid., 67.

[97] V. Taylor, "The Origin of the Markan Passion-Sayings," NTSt 1 (1955), 159-167. Earlier studies by Taylor on this problem include Jesus and His Sacrifice (1937; 2nd ed., 1948), 97-127; The Atonement in the NT (1945), 13-36, 57-67, 135-139, as well as his Commentary on St. Mark (1952), ad. loc.

Acts it is found in what appear to be early Aramaic sources, in the designation "Servant," and in the account of the Ethiopian eunuch. On the basis of this evidence Taylor deems it probable that the Servant christology was at its height "in the period A.D. 30-50, and in the earlier of the two decades more than in the later."[98] That would be the period in which Peter's influence was most felt in the primitive community.

The evidence which has been presented indicates the primitive character of the designation παῖς θεοῦ, and that it was primarily used by the early Jerusalem community. That the home and origin of the title must be sought in the first Palestinian community is indirectly attested by the disappearance of "Servant of God" as a description of the Messiah in Palestinian Judaism in reaction to the early description of Jesus as servant of God.[99] From the first, the designation παῖς was offensive to the Hellenistic church because of its lowliness. When it is found at the end of the first century it is in the proclamation of an Aramaic-speaking Jewish Christian sect of Palestine, the Ebionites.[100] It may be concluded that the presence of παῖς Christology in Acts 3 in

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[98] Ibid., 163. [99] Jeremias, op. cit., 680-696.

[100] Epiphanius, Haer. 29.7.3 informs us that the Ebionites ἕνα θεὸν καταγγέλλουσι καὶ τὸν τούτου παῖδα Ἰησοῦν Χριστόν.

no way detracts from its purported primitive character, but rather is appropriate to the earliest proclamation of the Jerusalem community.

3. The Tenor of Israel's Hope

In evaluating the relative primitiveness of elements within Acts 3 there should be an appreciation of the tenor of its hope for Israel. Following the presentation of the central facts of Jesus' death and resurrection there is a categorical demand for the repentance.

> μετανοήσατε οὖν καὶ ἐπιστρέψατε[101] πρὸς τὸ ἐξαλειφθῆναι ὑμῶν τὰς ἁμαρτίας, ὅπως ἂν ἔλθωσιν καιροὶ ἀναψύξεως ἀπὸ προσώπου τοῦ κυρίου καὶ ἀποστείλῃ τὸν προκεχειρισμένον ὑμῖν χριστὸν Ἰησοῦν, ὃν δεῖ οὐρανὸν μὲν δέξεσθαι ἄχρι χρόνων ἀποκαταστάσεως πάντων ὧν ἐλάλησεν ὁ θεὸς διὰ στόματος τῶν ἁγίων ἀπ' αἰῶνος αὐτοῦ προφητῶν (3:19-21).

The aspect of demand in this declaration is mitigated by the content of the hope which it contains: repentance will occasion the blotting out of sin, the in-breaking of a period of refreshment, and the parousia of the Messiah appointed for Israel. By a series of purpose clauses, it is made clear that repentance is the condition of these facets of redemptive experience, including the coming of the Messiah.[102]

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[101] On the apparent double translation of שוב (or its Aramaic equivalent תוב), and the terminology employed see E. K. Dietrich, "Die Umkehr bei dem Uebergang von dem hebraeischen A.T. in das griechische," in Die Umkehr (1936), 218-228, and esp. 220f.

[102] πρὸς τὸ ἐξαλειφθῆναι . . . ὅπως ἂν ἔλθωσιν . . . καὶ ἀποστείλῃ . . . .

That the repentance of Israel as a nation is made in some sense the necessary condition for the sending of the Messiah is of special interest. Reflecting the old Deuteronomic pattern of repentance followed by deliverance, during the Intertestamental period the conviction was formed in certain circles that the messianic salvation was dependent upon the repentance of Israel.[103] The lack of repentance would delay the coming of the Messiah. It is clear that by the first century the connection between national repentance and messianic redemption formed part of the popular stock of religious ideas, and was the basis of the preaching of John the Baptist that the Messiah cannot come until Israel repents.[104] Within Pharisaic circles, particularly toward the

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[103]E.g. Jubilees 1:15,22-25; 23:26-31; Test. Dan.6:4; Assumpt. Mos. 1:18. Cf. I Enoch 50:2-4; Bar. 4:27-30. According to Ps. Sol. 18:4f. God Himself must purge Israel through the Messiah. See further Dietrich, op. cit., 272-274; A. H. Dirksen, The New Testament Concept of Metanoia (1932), 130-135 and J. Behm, art. μετανοέω, μετάνοια, TWNT IV (1942), 988. For the Rabbinic conception see Dietrich, "Das Verhaeltnis der Umkehr zum messianischen Heil," op. cit., 418-426; Str-B I (1922), 162-165, 599f.

[104]Cf. Dietrich, op. cit., 273f.: "Daraus ersehen wir, dass eine Verknuepfung der Umkehr mit dem messianischen Heil dem Judentum nicht unbekannt war. Johannes der Taeufer konnte direkt daran anknuepfen. Der Boden war vorbereitet." In the literature one strand depicts the great heroes of the past returning as precursors or contemporaries of Messiah, whose function is to preach repentance (cf. IV Ezra 6:26; 7:28; 13:52). Their special activity consists in preparing the people for the Messiah by proclaiming that repentance which is indispensable to his coming. This explains how the mission of the Baptist was immediately recognized, although, his identity was unknown. It also explains the controversy over his identity.

end of the first century, the relationship of national repentance to the coming messianic deliverance was a matter of debate. The most famous controversy was that between the Shammaite, R. Eliezer ben Hyrkanos and the Hillelite R. Jehoshua ben Ḥanaja (c. 90 A.D.).[105] R. Eliezer contended that Messiah would not come and could not come until Israel repented as a nation. This had not always been his conviction. He had formerly entertained the view that the messianic redemption would dawn wholely apart from repentance, based upon a popular expectation that Messiah would come at the conclusion of Daniel's seventy week-years,[106] which the Rabbis calculated should fall on the ninth of Ab, in the year 69/70. But instead of Messiah's coming and deliverance, on this date Titus burned the Temple![107] The explanation for this reversal in expectation was found in the fact that Israel had not repented. R. Eliezer's reasoning was challenged by R. Jehoshua who, on the basis of Isa. 52:3; Jer. 3:4 and Dan. 7:7, argued that when God's appointed time came the messianic end would take place, regardless of the repentance of Israel. R.

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[105] On R. Jehoshua see J. Podro, The Last Pharisee. The Life and Times of Rabbi Joshua ben Hananyah (1959); on R. Eliezer see B. Z. Bokzer, Pharasaic Judaism in Transition. R. Eliezer the Great and Jewish Reconstruction after the War with Rome (1935).

[106] Cf. b. Sanh. 97b, where this position is repudiated by R. Nathan.

[107] See the early tradition in M. Taan. IV. 6.

Jehoshua worked with a different set of figures, basing his calculations on the sabbatical scheme of seven millenia. According to his calculations, Messiah would come in the year 240 A.D.,[108] a date sufficiently far advanced in the future to allow R. Jehoshua to dispute the reasoning of his colleague with vigor. The debate is recorded several times in the sources, but the briefest account occurs in Tanchuma B to Leviticus.

> R. Eliezer said, If Israel will repent, it will be redeemed. If Israel will not repent, it will not be redeemed, as it is written: In returning and rest you shall be saved (Isa. 30:15). R. Jehoshua said: Whether they return or not, as soon as the End is come, so soon will they be redeemed, as it is written, I am the Lord. In its time I will hasten it (Isa. 60:22). R. Eliezer said: God places over them an evil man like Haman, and he afflicts them, and as a result they will do repentance, as it is written, For he will come like a rushing stream which the breath of the Lord drives in that hour,[109] and he will come to Zion as Redeemer, even to those in Jacob who turn from transgression (Isa. 59:19-20).[110]

The account gives R. Eliezer the final word, for his opinion

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[108] Cf. the tradition attributed to Tanna debe Eliyyahu in Sanh. 97a,b, together with the commentary in the Soncino Talmud, ad loc.

[109] The words "in that hour" are not to be found in M.T.

[110] Tanchuma B. בחקתי §5 (ed. Buber, 56a) אם ישראל עושה תשובה נגאלים ואומר In an expanded form the debate may be found in j. Ta'anith 1, 1, 63d and b. Sanh. 97b-98a. The main difference in the accounts centers in the biblical texts cited to support these two positions. All three passages cite Isa. 30:15. For a commentary on the text see Dietrich, op. cit., 418-422. On 431-32, other texts attributed to Eliezer are analyzed from this point of view.

was unquestionably the more prevalent one.[111] The messianic age is held in abeyance until the people repent.

It is this conviction which lies behind the call for Israel to repent in the earliest Jerusalem proclamation. In Acts 3:19f. Peter urges the people to repent "in order that he [the Lord] may send the Messiah appointed for you." The hope that God would inaugurate the Days of the Messiah if only Israel would repent was native to the primitive Community, being part of that eschatological complex which was their religious heritage as Palestinian Jews. When the Hellenistic element began its ascendancy, however, the conviction came to be held that Israel had hardened itself, and could not repent, until after the influx of the Gentiles

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[111] Thus R. Jose the Galilean (c.110), b. Yoma 86b (Bar.), Yalqut to Isa. 59 §358 [on this passage see W. Bacher, Agada der Tannaiten I (1903) 369, n.3]; R. Jose Ḥalaphta (c.140), Midr. Kl. 34b [on which see the commentary of Str-B IV (1928), 1007]; R. Meir (c. 140), Midrash Abba Gorion (ed. Buber, second version 41a; ed. A. Jellinek, Bet ha-Midrasch I, 21). W. Bacher, Agada der Tannaiten II (1903), 35 states that while these works are late "vielleicht auf echte Tradition zurueck." Anonymous statements supporting R. Eliezer's view that Israel would not experience the Messianic redemption until the nation repented are to be found in j. Ta'an. 1,1 (64a) ; Pesikta Rabbati 33 (153a); Num. R. VII (148c). However, in b. Sanh. 97b-98a R. Jehoshua is given the final word.

Not until the third century A.D. was the opinion presented that if Israel repented for a single day the Messiah would come. This view is first attributed to Amoraim of the third generation, Tanchuma ben Ḥijja and R. Levi (j. Ta'an. 1, 1, 64a; Pesikta 163b; Midrash Cant. 5, 2, 118a).

into the messianic community.[112] It is only in the earliest strata of the tradition that there is expressed the tenor of hope for Israel based upon an immediate national repentance.[113] The presence of this hope in Acts 3:19-21 tends to confirm the relative primitiveness of the affirmations found there.

Conclusion

The evidence which has been set forth with respect to the possible Aramaic sub-structure of Acts 3, its παῖς Christology and its hope for Israel based upon a national repentance, commend confidence in the relatively primitive character of the speech recorded there, with its distinctive formulation in vv. 19-21. The evidence for primitive elements in the speech commends confidence in the primitive character of the periodization to which the speech is a witness. At least the question of relative primitiveness may be kept open.

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[112] E.g. Acts 7:51-53; 11:20f; 13:44-48. Cf. I. Thess. 2:14-16; Rom. 9:1-11:36.

[113] This has been rightly seen by F. F. Bruce, The Acts of the Apostles (1951), 19. Cf. Gaertner, op. cit., 34, n.2. (Str-) Billerbeck does not treat Acts 3:19.

CHAPTER III

THE PERIODIZATION OF TRADITIONAL ESCHATOLOGICAL HOPES: THE CHRISTIAN COMMUNITY

The men who comprised the primitive Christian community did not live in a spiritual or religious vacuum. They could not cut themselves off from the rich cultural and spiritual heritage of Judaism. From the perspectives of this heritage they undoubtedly judged the events in which they had been caught up. The hopes which they entertained, and the convictions which they brought to the community, were those traditional to the Jewish people as a whole. Their association with John the Baptist, or with Jesus of Nazareth, may have served to quicken those hopes, or to fill out the content of those hopes, but there is no evidence that the structure of those traditional hopes had been changed. On the contrary, what evidence we do possess indicates that the early disciples of Jesus assumed that the two age structure in God's dealing with His people was the correct one. After the resurrection of Jesus they saw God's redemptive program for Israel reaching its climax in one whom they recognized to be the promised Messiah. On any traditional understanding

of that program, the consummation was imminent. God had sent the Messiah, and had reversed the national judgment by raising him from the dead. Consummation could not long delay.

But this first expectation was false. The experience of Holy Spirit within the Community and delay of the consummation made this clear. Traditionally the general bestowal of the Spirit upon the congregation of God's people had been associated with the consummation. The Community had received the Spirit, but the consummation did not take place. It was the experience of the Community to be living in a new period in God's eschatological program. There is no evidence that they had anticipated this experience. Yet it was of such a nature as to demand articulation. The traditional eschatological hopes which had informed the heritage of Judaism were inadequate to express this new period of existence. The knowledge of who Jesus was, and the presence of the Spirit within the community, forced them to make a careful distinction in the eschatological program which was new to them. In any statement of that program provision now had to be made for the present period of the Spirit. Accordingly, they periodized their traditional eschatological hopes, distinguishing between the period into which they had now been projected, which already had some of the earmarks of the consummation, and the consummation itself, which still lay in the future.

This periodization may be detected at several points

in the New Testament, in expressions which now lie encrusted within discourse and exposition, fossils of a primitive concern with time and history. They uniformily betray a concern with God's redemptive program in terms of what may be described as "the divine time-table." The point of emphasis within the time-table, however, as well as the terms employed to express its distinctive periods, display the greatest diversity and independence in formulation.

A. The Eschatological Time-table

Evidence for an early concern with the question of the eschatological program for Israel and the point to which that program had moved may be found in the initial chapter of Acts. Luke records that Jesus appeared to his disciples during the period between his resurrection and ascension,[1]

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[1]There have been consistent attempts to regard the distinction between the resurrection and the ascension as a secondary apologetic construction by Luke, or the Hellenistic Church. See A. N. Wilder, "Variant Traditions of the Resurrection in Acts," JBL 62 (1943), 307-318, and the bibliography cited there. It is argued that the primitive Aramaic-speaking church spoke not of a physical resurrection of Christ, but rather of his translation or glorification. This earlier presentation, however, has been rewritten and Hellenized to express the conception of a physical resurrection as well as the ascension (see esp. 314-316). It is difficult, however, to discern why Luke, or the Hellenistic Church would wish to substitute the conception of a material resurrection body for an earlier belief in translation, since resurrection is a concept foreign to hellenistic thought. But if that concept was inherent in the sources at Luke's disposal, he has been faithful in preserving it. The spaces of time between the resurrection and the ascension are clearly present in John

and instructed them concerning the Kingdom of God (Acts 1:3). On one occasion he commanded his disciples not to depart from Jerusalem until they had received the Holy Spirit. The response to this command was a question, if at this time (ἐν τῷ χρόνῳ τούτῳ) the Risen Lord would restore the Kingdom to Israel (v.6). The question was a natural one. Resurrection, which according to traditional eschatological expectations would signal the end-time, had already taken place. The outpouring of the Spirit, which was also an earmark of the consummation, had now been promised. On a traditional understanding of the eschatological program, it would be expected that the prophetic promise of Israel's restoration would now be fulfilled;[2] it is against the background of traditional

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and Paul (John 20:26; 21:1, 14; I Cor. 15:3-8. For a modern discussion of the ascension, which grounds the distinction between resurrection and ascension in the old historical data available to Luke, see P. A. van Stempvoort, "The Interpretation of the Ascension in Luke and Acts," NTSt 5 (1958), 30-42; and on the period of the "forty" days, esp. 30-34, 39-40. Cf. A. Wikenhauser, "Die Belehrung der Apostel durch den Auferstandenen," in Vom Wort des Lebens, Festschrift fuer M. Meinertz (1951), 105-113. On "forty" as a round and symbolic number, J. Bergmann, "Die runden und hyperbolischen Zahlen in der Agada," MGWJ 82 (1938), 370ff. Cf. B. Gerhardsson, Memory and Manuscript (1961), 231: "Just as Moses received the holy Torah in the course of forty days' fellowship with God on the mountain according to the Jewish tradition, so on this occasion the twelve receive the principle of eschatological logos in all its fulness during forty days."

[2]For the live interest in the promised restoration, and its connection with resurrection, see the debate in M. Sanh. X:1 and the commentary by S. Krauss, Die Mischna IV:4 (1933), 265-269.

eschatology that the disciples' question is most intelligible. The restoration of the Kingdom to Israel was the subject of daily prayer in Palestinian Judaism, and is reflected in three of the petitions of the Shemoneh 'Esreh, the Eighteen Benedictions.[3] While not all of the petitions in their present form date back to the period of the second Temple, it is thought that the eleventh benediction was in use prior to the destruction of the Temple. In the Palestinian recension of this prayer the pious Jew prayed daily: Restore our judges as in former days, and our counsellors as in the beginning, and Thou alone be king over us. . . ."[4] The Babylonian recension is fuller, and adds a significant time-predicate to the petition: "Restore our judges as in former times and our counsellors as in the beginning, and remove from us sighing and crying, and be King over us soon,

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[3] On the Shemoneh 'Esreh, in addition to the article by E. G. Hirsch in JE XI (1905), 270-282, where the text is given in English translation, see E. Schwaab, Historische Einfuehrung in das Achtzehngebet (1913); K. Kohler, "The Origin and Composition of the Eighteen Benedictions," HUCA 1 (1924), 387-426. The text of both the Babylonian and Palestinian recensions may be found in G. Dalman, Die Worte Jesu (1898), 299-304.

The three prayers are the eleventh, fourteenth and fifteenth benedictions. For the text in German translation see Str-B II (1924), 588.

[4] השיבה שופטינו כבראשונה ויועצינו כבתחלה והמלוך עלינו אתה לבדך ברוך אתה " אוהב המשפט: The prayer is a request for the fulfilment of the prophecy of Isa. 1:26.

Thou alone, in mercy and righteousness and justice. . . . "[5]

Both recensions express the desire for the appearance of that period in which Israel's former glory would be restored, and in which God alone would be sovereign over His people. But the time-predicate "soon" (מְהֵרָה) in the Babylonian recension may shed light on the disciples' question. With the pious Jews of their day the disciples shared the conviction that God would display his sovereignty and establish His Kingdom. The unanswered question in the minds of both the disciples and their Jewish contemporaries was the question "when?" This is the question of the eschatological time-table. When in God's sovereign plan for His people would the time come for Him to establish his indisputable rule over them? The pious Jew, in a formulation which may betray the events of 70-135 A.D., prayed that it sould be "soon;" the disciples asked if that time had come. Both were concerned to know at what point they stood with respect to the time-table of God's eschatological purposes for Israel.

In framing the disciples' question Luke used a term which by his time was technical in its eschatological associations. The verb ἀποκαθιστάνειν, from its use in several Old Testament prophetic passages, and especially

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5 השיבה שופטינו כבראשונה ויעצינו כבתחלה והסר ממנו יגון ואנחה ומלוך עלינו מהרה אתה לבדיך ברחמים בצדק ובמשפט ברוך אתה "[מלך] אוהב[צדקה]ומשפט:

Malachi 4:4f., signified the establishment of a righteous order through God at the end-time. The term was increasingly understood in the messianic-eschatological sense which appears clearly in the question of the disciples.[6] The term conveys the thought of the establishment of something new and absolute in character, which transforms the old order. In Malachi 4:5f. it is associated with the return of Elijah as the forerunner of the consummation, who leads both the fathers and the children to radical repentance.[7] In Sirach's hymn in praise of famous men, the thought of Malachi is developed; the function of Elijah is καταστῆσαι φυλὰς Ἰακώβ, to enable those who had been illegally excluded from the congregation to attain their inheritance in the consummation.[8] All disputes will be settled in the "restoration"

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[6] A. Oepke, art. Ἀποκαθίστημι , TWNT I (1938), 386-388, "Die Vokabel wird terminus technicus fuer die Wiedereinsetzung Israels in seinen Besitz durch Jahwe: Jer. 16, 15, ἀποκαταστήσω αὐτοὺς εἰς τὴν γῆν αὐτῶν ; 23:8; 24:6 (Jos., Ant. xi.2); Hos. 11:11. . . . Diese wird mehr und mehr messianisch-eschatologisch verstanden. . . .

"Der urspruengliche messianisch-politische Sinn von ἀποκαθιστάναι blickt deutlich durch in der Frage der Juenger an der Auferstandenen, Ag. 1:6. . . . " See further E. Haenchen, Die Apostelgeschichte (1956), 114.

[7] Mal. 4:4f. (LXX), καὶ ἰδοὺ ἐγὼ ἀποστέλλω ὑμῖν Ἠλίαν τὸν Θεσβίτην πρὶν ἐλθεῖν ἡμέραν κυρίου τὴν μεγάλην καὶ ἐπιφανῆ, ὃς ἀποκαταστήσει καρδίαν πατρὸς πρὸς υἱὸν καὶ καρδίαν ἀνθρώπου πρὸς τὸν πλησίον αὐτοῦ. μὴ ἔλθω καὶ πατάξω τὴν γῆν ἄρδην.
Cf. J. Jeremias, art. Ἠλ(ε)ίας TWNT II (1935), 932f., 935 and the full bibliography cited on 930f.

[8] Sirach 48:10, ὁ καταγραφεὶς ἐν ἐλεγμοῖς εἰς καιρούς,
κοπάσαι ὀργὴν πρὸ θυμοῦ

by Elijah who leads the people to a great repentance which will be accomplished only when he comes.[9] The Malachi passage informs not only these assertions, but also Jesus' statement that Elijah must come and establish all things (ἀποκαταστήσει πάντα).[10] In this context ἀποκαθιστάνειν is used with direct reference to Malachi 4:4f. to speak of the new order of affairs ushered in by Jesus. What is in view is not merely the restoring of the old order, but the establishment of something which will transcend the old order, in brief, the consummation. In this light, the question of the disciples is intelligible. Ἀποκαθιστάνειν τὴν βασιλείαν refers to the establishment of that transcendant order which has Messiah as its sovereign head and center.

καὶ ἐπιστρέψαι καρδίαν πατρὸς πρὸς υἱὸν
καὶ καταστῆσαι φυλὰς Ἰακώβ.

The Hebrew text of the last phrase is להכין שבטי ישראל
The expression comes from Isa. 49:6, where the ʿebed receives the mission of להקים את-שבטי יעקב . The restoration of the twelve tribes is a messianic task, and its assignment to Elijah may have been to designate him as the coming savior. This is the interpretation of G. Dalman, Der leidende und der sterbende Messias der Synagogue im ersten nachchristlichen Jahrtausend (1888), 28; Str-B IV (1928), 780 and J. Jeremias, op. cit., 933, reiterated in his article on παῖς θεοῦ , TWNT IV (1954), 685.

9 Lk. 1:16-17. Cf. Jeremias, art. Ἠλ(ε)ίας, op.cit., 935.

10 Mk. 9:12; Matt. 17:11; cf. Jeremias, op. cit., 938-940. For an interesting suggestion on these passages, that the roles of Jesus and the Baptist have been interchanged, see J. A. T. Robinson, "Elijah, John and Jesus. An Essay in Detection," NTSt 4 (1958), 263-81. Cf. Justin, Dial, 7:3; 49:1-6, on Elijah as forerunner of the Messiah.

To use the parlance of their contemporaries, the disciples asked if the Days of the Messiah were now imminent. The reference to "Israel" in their question is natural for this traditional messianic hope is expressed in terms of Old Testament expectation. In this context "Israel" is best understood as the messianic community.[11] The point of their question concerned the time <u>when</u> old expectations would be realized.

The fact that the disciples' question was concerned with the eschatological time-table, that the whole point of their question was as to <u>time</u>, is made clear by the answer that question received. "It is not for you to know times (χρόνους) or seasons (καιρούς) which the Father has

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[11]Luke's own writings confirm the fact that the eschatological messianic hope could be expressed in terms of Old Testament expectations. In Lk. 2:25 the "consolation of Israel" is a comprehensive term for the messianic redemption, and is intimately associated with the infant Jesus in whom is centered the hopes for this consolation. In Luke 24:21 the two disciples on the road to Emmaus tell how they had hoped that Jesus of Nazareth was the one "who should redeem Israel." That redemption is then related by Jesus to the Messiah's suffering and his entrance into glory. In Acts 28:20 Paul sums up his ministry and imprisonment in terms of "the hope of Israel;" in verse 23 "the hope of Israel" is equated with the Kingdom of God and testimony concerning Jesus. Each of these Lucan phrases about Israel are distinctly theocratic and messianic in character so that "Israel" is best to be understood as the messianic community. The intimate link between the consolation of Israel and the person of the Messiah suggests that restoration of the Kingdom of Israel would call to mind the expression "the Days of the Messiah."

placed (ἔθετο) in his own authority."[12] God alone is the Sovereign of time and history. Because He alone has determined the time structure, He alone knows the appointed time when the Days of the Messiah will be inaugurated. The mild rebuke in Jesus' answer is directed not to men who hold an erroneous view of the Kingdom, but to men with an excessive curiosity concerning the eschatological time-table, on a point which was not explicitly revealed or ascertainable.[13]

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[12]Acts 1:7. In this statement it is possible that χρόνος signifies more of a linear estimate of time, a period or era, while καιρός has more of a vertical character, a critical moment in history, although such a distinction cannot always be pressed. For the expression "times and seasons" in a purely non-eschatological sense see Sirach 4:20 (Hebr^{A}): "My son, observe time and seasons, and beware of evil/and be not ashamed concerning thy soul." (Hebr^{A}) עת הטון but read with Schechter עת והטון. See now the excellent note of B. Rigaux, Saint Paul, Les Epîtres aux Thessaloniciens (1956), 533-535 on I Thess. 5:1; F. W. Grosheide, "Enkele korte Opmerkingen tot recht verstaan van de voorstelling van den tijd in het Nieuwe Testament," Gereformeed Theologisch Tijdschrift 51 (1951), 19-27.

[13]The thought expressed by Jesus, that only God knows and controls the appointed time, is one which finds expression also in Rabbinic material and in the sectarian documents from Qumran. Thus the Mekhilta to Ex. 15:32 (ed. Horowitz-Rabin, p.171) lists among the seven things which are hidden from men the answers to two urgent questions, "when the Kingdom of the House of David [the Messianic Kingdom] will be restored to its place, and when the insolent kingdom [Rome] will be uprooted." The influence of Habakkuk 2:3, "For the vision is yet for an appointed time, but at the end it shall speak and not lie: though he delay, wait for him; because it will surely come; it will not delay," can be traced in this connection both among the Rabbis (e.g. b. Sanh. 97b) and among the sectarians at Khirbet Qumran (1QpHab 2:3). From this verse it was deduced that it was wrong to calculate the in-breaking of the end time or to seek to hasten or to delay that in-breaking (e.g. b.Ber. 64a; 1QS i.14f.; cf. 1QpHab.vii.

It is probable that this concern with time, and with that point on the time-table to which the Jerusalem Community had come, contributed materially to an early periodization of traditional eschatological hopes, particularly after the Holy Spirit had been given to the Community.

B. Times of Refreshment (Acts 3:19-21)

One of the most unusual remains of an early concern with the eschatological program for Israel occurs in Acts 3, in a speech which preserves undoubtedly primitive elements. In the context of a demand for repentance Acts 3:19-21 speaks of times of refreshment, καιροὶ ἀναψύξεως, of the parousia of the Messiah, καὶ ἀποστείλῃ τὸν προκεχειρισμένον ὑμῖν χριστόν, Ἰησοῦν, and of the establishment of all things, ἄχρι χρόνων ἀποκαταστάσεως πάντων. It is clear that in the passage the repentance of Israel is intimately associated with these three factors. It is also clear that a correct understanding of the passage will hinge upon the interpretation of the expressions καιροὶ ἀναψύξεως and ἄχρι χρόνων ἀποκαταστάσεως πάντων and their relationship to the parousia of the Messiah, who is identified as Jesus.

1-14). These passages are significant for their indication of a real concern, both in Pharisaic and sectarian Judaism, with the subject of the divine time-table and its corollary of fulfilment. It is also significant that the responsible leaders in these different (but virtually co-existing) groups recognized that the knowledge and determination of "times and seasons" rested in God's authority alone. See further the evidence collected in Str-B IV.2 (1928), 1013ff.

But the passage itself has remained obscure. The reason for this lies in the terminology used at this point, for the exact expressions καιροὶ ἀναψύξεως and χρόνοι ἀποκαταστάσεως occur in the New Testament only here and they are absent from the Septuagint or known intertestamental literature. Both the words ἀνάψυξις and ἀποκατάστασις are hapax legomena in the New Testament, and while ἀνάψυξις occurs once in the Septuagint the noun ἀποκατάστασις does not occur at all. Further, while the concept of an ἀποκατάστασις πάντων became significant in the theological discussions of the second and third centuries, there is only one occurrence of the expression καιρὸς ἀναψύξεως in later Christian literature.[14] It may be for this reason that, apart from commentators on the book of Acts, this passage has largely been neglected in modern discussion. Yet it may hold the key to the understanding of time and history within the primitive Church, and be of primary importance as an expression of the self-consciousness of the Apostolic Community.

Within the past ten years, excluding commentaries, there have been three attempts by Continental scholars to deal exegetically with Acts 3:19-21. In an article concerned to deny that the primitive Christian community expected an im-

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[14] The one occurrence is in the apocryphal Acta Ioannis 22 (ed. Bonnet, II, 163, lines 5ff). This occurrence of καιρὸς ἀναψύξεως has been overlooked by all of the commentators on Acts, to the best of my knowledge. It will be explained below, together with other instances of ἀνάψυξις in the apocryphal New Testament.

minent return of the Christ, G. Sevenster addressed himself to major passages in Acts which reflect upon time and the eschatological program.[15] Recognizing the special exegetical difficulties of Acts 3:19-21, Sevenster limited his remarks to the problematic phrase "times of refreshment." By this phrase, he argued, the time of the parousia is not meant,[16] for there is no indication that the end time was ever designated by such terms. Further, the plural, καιροί, would suggest not one point of decisiveness, but several decisive moments. Since the urgent call to repentance is clearly addressed to Israel, what is in view is something special which will be given to Israel over an extended period of time. A study of Old Testament passages suggested to Sevenster that as God has special moments of judgment and punishment, so He has also special times of grace and peace.[17]

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[15] G. Sevenster, "Handelingen en het probleem der nabije parousie," in Arcana Revelata (Festschrift F. W. Grosheide, 1951), 119-126. The passages with which Sevenster primarily deals are Acts 1:7; 2:19-20; 3:19-21.

[16] By this remark Sevenster dissociates himself with a position shared by perhaps the majority of modern commentators, that the "times of refreshment" are coeval with the "times of the establishment of all things," i.e. the consummation. See the commentaries of R. J. Knowling (1900), A. Loisy (1920), E. Jacquier (1926), K. Lake and H. J. Cadbury (BC IV, 1933), F. F. Bruce (1951), G. Ricciotti (1951), E. Haenchen[3] (1959), ad loc., among others. Among recent articles see J. Schmitt, Les Sources et les thèmes de la naissante foi apostolique au Christ Saveur," Lumière et Vie 15 (1955), 326-329; D. M. Stanley, "The Conception of Salvation in Primitive Christian Preaching" CBQ 18 (1956), 252.

[17] The passages to which Sevenster appeals (p.124) are

It is this latter provision which is meant by "times of refreshment," which Sevenster further qualifies as "periods of temporary relief."[18] The passage does speak of a distinctively final call for Israel's conversion, and to this degree it is eschatological; but there is no thought of an imminent parousia, nor is the refreshing intimately related to the parousia.[19]

Sevenster's article did not go unnoticed. Two years later it called forth a response by the Dutch scholar H. M. Matter, who addressed himself to the problem of the future of Israel in the light of New Testament teaching.[20] Matter took issue with Sevenster's assertion that the phrase, "times of refreshment" designated a series of special times of relief for Israel that were dissociated from the consummation. Defining ἀνάψυξις as "a breath-pause," Matter asked why should times of refreshment be promised to a people who were not aware of being threatened either by divine or imperial pun-

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Ps. 40:14,18; 41:2; 31:16-17; 30:4; 102:14; 119:126; Isa. 13; Jer. 49; 4:14.

[18] Loc. cit. Sevenster acknowledges in a note his indebtedness at this point to a suggestion of K. Lake in BC IV (1933) ad loc.

[19] Ibid., 123-124.

[20] H. M. Matter, De Toekomst van Israel in het Licht van het Nieuwe Testament (1953), 109-119.

ishment. The refreshment is clearly the fruit of Israel's conversion. It comes through the preaching of the Gospel, through which Jesus comes as Messiah to His people. The refreshment, therefore, is nothing less than the messianic salvation which was expressly intended for Israel. In spite of Israel's rejection of the Messiah this salvation is still available to the nation.[21] But, Matter insists, this must not be dissociated from the consummation, for what is primarily in view is not individual or even national refreshment, but cosmological refreshment. This refreshment is distinctively eschatological, and its content is the establishment of all that God spoke through His servants the prophets.[22]

These two different understandings of Acts 3:19-21 are subject to a common criticism. Both are based on a conjectural foundation, and under such conditions one conjecture can always cancel out another. If any firm conviction is to be entertained concerning the meaning of Acts 3:19-21 it must be based on linguistic and exegetical evidence. But neither Sevenster nor Matter has produced this evidence.

A recent attempt to exegete the passage in the light of a fresh interpretation of καιροὶ ἀναψύξεως has been made by Harald Sahlin.[23] His understanding of the structure

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[21] Ibid., 114-116. [22] Ibid., 117-119.

[23] Harald Sahlin, "Till förståelsen av två ställen i Apostlagärningarna (Apg 3:20 och 8:23)," SvEA 22-23 (1957-58) 127-136.

of the passage is reflected in the statement that it is first when repentance takes place that Messiah can come and with Him the times of refreshment.[24] The context indicates that the refreshment is closely associated with the coming of the Messiah and the restoration of all things to their original (sinless) state. This eschatological event is thought of as breaking in as a direct result of man's radical repentance, which Sahlin judges from the context to take place in the new birth and through baptism. What is in view then is a total complex: the blotting out of the sins of God's people through the new birth and baptism; the times of refreshment; the advent of the Messiah; the restoration of all things to the state of paradise.

To understand ἀνάψυξις Sahlin associates it with a parallel term, παράκλησις, which occurs in Luke 2:25. This term corresponds to נחמה, but the question is, what connotations did this Semitic term convey? The Syriac term ܬܘܒܬܐ means "resurrection of the dead," and Sahlin states that it is likely that the late-Hebrew (and Aramaic) נחמה has received the same connotation, or at least tends to convey this meaning.[25] It is reasonable that an important strand in the

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[24] Ibid., 127f., "Först i och med att bättring äger rum kan alltså messias och med honom vederkvickelsetider komma." Cf. p. 129.

[25] Ibid., 128f., citing in support J. Klausner, Die messianischen Vorstellungen (1903), 30, n.2. Cf. J. Lepsius,

fabric of eschatological comfort would be the resurrection of the dead. Contemporary Judaism, Sahlin continues, entertained the conception that Messiah's coming brings with it and leads up to the resurrection of the dead. It is logical to expect that the restitution of all things be associated with the resurrection of the dead in Acts 3:19-21. That it is correct to observe in ἀνάψυξις this special thought of the resurrection of the dead is suggested by the term itself, for it is a word chosen because of its play on the words ἄνω ψυχαί, which express the thought of a soul being raised to new life. At least this is the meaning that a Greek reader would probably lend to the word, Sahlin argues.[26]

On this interpretation καιροὶ ἀναψύξεως mark the time of the resurrection of the dead at Messiah's coming. The expression stands in very close connection with ἀποκατάστασις πάντων (v.21) on one hand, and with the command to repent (v.19) on the other. Each of these three items are concerned with the raising up of the new messianic people of God preparatory to the coming of the Lord. The repentance guarantees that God's people will live again (v.20a) and prepares

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"The Symbolical language of the Revelation," Exp. Series VIII, 3 (1912), 160: "The ideas of Restitution (ἀποκατάστασις), Perfecting (τελείωσις), New Birth or Palengenesis, (παλιγγένεσις), Resurrection (ἀνάστασις), Refreshing (ἀνάψυξις), are only different forms of the same thought."

[26]Sahlin, op. cit., 130.

the people for Christ's parousia (v.20b). This, according to Sahlin, is the authentic Jewish understanding of Messiah and God's people.[27]

There are grave objections, however, to such a treatment of the passage in general, and of the expression καιροὶ ἀναψύξεως in particular. No instance of ἀνάψυξις in the sense of resurrection has been given by Sahlin.[28] What is

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[27] Ibid., 131. "I enlighet med här föreslagna tolkning av ἀνάψυξις syftar alltså uttrycket καιροὶ ἀναψύξεως på den de dödas uppståndelse, som tänktes skola inträffa i samband, med Messias' ankomst. Därmed visar sig uttrycket καιροὶ ἀναψύξεως stå i ett nära ideologiskt sammenhang med å ena sidan ἀποκατάστασις πάντων" (v.21), å den andra med den nya födelsen i bättringsdopet (v.19)."

[28] There is one piece of evidence which, on first appearance, would have greatly strengthened Sahlin's case had he known of it. In the Acta Ioannis 22 (ed. Bonnet II, 163, lines 5ff.) there occurs the one instance of καιρὸς ἀναψύξεως in later Christian literature, and the phrase is clearly interpreted in terms of resurrection. The account tells how John has come to the house of Lycomedes, praetor of Ephesus, to heal the praetor's wife Cleopatra, who is near death. Through grief Lycomedas dies as does his wife, and John is faced with responsibility for both of these deaths in the eyes of the Ephesian multitude who have gathered angrily outside of the house. John prays, "Raise up these two dead whose death is against me. . . . And John, beholding the great multitude that was come, said unto the Lord: Now is the time of refreshment and of confidence toward thee, O Christ; now is the time for us who are sick to have the help that is of thee, O physician who healest freely . . . (Νῦν καιρὸς ἀναψύξεως καὶ παῤῥησίας τῆς πρὸς σὲ Χριστέ. Νῦν καιρὸς κάμνουσιν ἡμῖν τῆς ἐκ σοῦ βοηθείας ἰατρὲ δωρεὰν ἰωμένῳ . . . .)." John then commanded Cleopatra, "Arise in the name of Jesus Christ," and shortly afterward Lycomedes was revived with the command "Arise and glorify the name of God, for he giveth back the dead to the dead" (Acta Ion. 22, 25). It is clear that the καιρὸς ἀναψύξεως is understood as a time of crisis, and that it is intimately related in this instance to resurrection. Yet there is nothing in the context which suggests that either

more remarkable is that he has not attempted to examine those contexts in which the word does occur to discern what connotations it conveys. The evidence that נחמה is a comprehensive designation for the eschatological comfort prepared for the people of God is impressive,[29] but no instance in which it clearly is limited to the meaning "resurrection" has

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the καιρὸς ἀναψύξεως or the reviving of the dead couple is eschatological in nature, and it is this which is really needed by Sahlin. Further, while in this context resurrection is called for, it is possible that in other critical moments something else would be sought. All that καιρὸς ἀναψύξεως indicates is a critical moment of need. Of greater importance is the fact that there is nothing in the passage which suggests that this instance of καιρὸς ἀναψύξεως is in any way related to the plural expression in Acts 3:19-20, or that the plural expression should be interpreted in the light of this rare occurrence of the singular.

In Latin apocryphal material clustered about the name of Peter the term refrigerium is used as a title for Christ: "this Jesus ye have, brethren, the Door, the Light, the Way, the Bread, the Water, the Life, the Resurrection, the Refreshment (refrigerium), the Pearl, the Treasure, the Seed, the Harvest, the Mustard Seed, the Vine, the Plough, the Grace, the Faith, the Word: He is all things and there is no other greater than He. Unto Him be praise, world without end. Amen" (Acta Petri cum Simone XX [ed. Lipsius I, 68:12]). The fact that a distinction is made between resurrection and refreshment in this passage is perhaps significant for its denial of the relationship Sahlin has sought to establish. See further Martyrium Beati Petri Apostoli a lino episcopo conscriptum XV (ed. Lipsius I, 19, line 2) where Peter says, "Thou art to me Lord, Father and Friend, author and perfector of salvation, tu desiderium, tu refrigerium et tu satietas." In a parallel passage in the Vercelli Acts XXXIX the key phrases are missing.

[29] Cf. O. Schmitz and G. Staehlin, art. παρακαλέω, παράκλησις, TWNT V (1954), 788-790, 797; Str.-B II (1924), 124-126. To the evidence cited there add, II Bar. 44:7; 81:1; Targ. to II Sam. 23:2,4; Jer. 31:6; Isa. 4:3; 33:20.

been cited by Sahlin. Qualified Semitists dispute his claim that the word should be so understood.[30] Moreover, while Sahlin is concerned to recover the authentic Jewish (Christian) understanding of Messiah and God's people which informs this passage, he has been too quick to assume that Messiah's function in the resurrection was generally recognized at so early a date.[31] His discernment of a word play in the term ἀνάψυξις can hardly be taken seriously in the light of those contexts in which the verb ἀναψύχειν and the noun ἀνάψυξις occur. While it is true that ἀνάψυξις is probably synonymous with the term παράκλησις :: נחמה as it occurs in Lk. 2:25, the narrow meaning which he wishes to find in that term is not there. Simeon is represented as looking for "the consolation (παράκλησις) of Israel," and after taking

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[30]E.g. G. Dalman, Die Worte Jesu[2] (1930), 71, 89f., "Troestung (נחמה) ist . . . ueberall nicht die Auferstehung sondern die Erloesung in ihrem ganzen Umfang." "Die christliche palaestinische Literatur weiss von dieser Bedeutung von נחם nichts, ebenso wenig wie das gesamte juedische Schrifttum sowohl Palaestinas als Babyloniens."

[31]Cf. J. Bonsirven Le judaïsme palestinienne I (1934), 483: "Quant au Messie, aucun texte authentique ne lui accorde une intervention quelconque dans la résurrection des morts." There is one exception, however, Hos. 14:8 Targum: "They shall be gathered from the sons of their captivity and shall come under the protection of their Messiah, and the dead shall live and goodness shall increase in the earth," יתכנשון מבני גלוותהון יתבון בטלל משיחהון ויחון מתיא ויסגי טובא בארעא: The uniqueness of this passage is stressed by P. Humbert, "Le Messie dans le Targum des Prophètes," RThPh 44 (1911), 10: "C'est le seul passage de tout le Targum des prophètes qui place pendant l'époque messianique une résurrection des morts." Cf. also II Bar. 30:1.

in his arms the infant Jesus he is satisfied because he has seen the salvation which God has prepared. The παράκλησις is intimately associated with τὸν χριστὸν κυρίου (v.26), τὸ παιδίον Ἰησοῦν (v.27) and with τὸ σωτήριον [τοῦ θεοῦ] (v.30), but there is no reflection, at least in this context, upon ἀνάστασις ἐκ νεκρῶν. It must be read into this context to find it there, even as Sahlin has read it into Acts 3:19-21.

What had prompted Sahlin to make so bold a suggestion on the basis of so weak a foundation as the Syriac meaning of ܢܝܚܐ was the lack of any clearly associated ideas in the expression καιροὶ ἀναψύξεως.[32] But it may be questioned whether the judgment is accurate that the expression is not rich in associated ideas. Those passages in which ἀνάψυξις and related terms occur must be examined in context to determine its associations before such a judgment may be admitted.[33]

The verb ἀναψύχειν occurs several times in the Septuagint with the general meaning "to refresh oneself after strenuous exertion." It is associated with the rest of the

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[32]Sahlin, op. cit., 127.

[33]For a brief, but suggestive, study of the several Hebrew and Greek words which are translated by "refreshing" or "to refresh" in the English Bible see the unsigned article, "Refreshing. A Study in the Religious Language of the Bible," ET 13 (1901/02), 463f. The study of ἀνάψυξις and its cognates has not yet appeared in Kittel's TWNT.

Sabbath,[34] with the affect of cool water upon a parched throat,[35] with release from pain and affliction,[36] or with a cool breath of air.[37] In the New Testament the verb occurs with certainty only once, in II Tim. 1:16, where Paul testifies that Onesiphorus often refreshed him, having sought him out in prison. The interest in this particular passage lies

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[34]Ex. 23:12, the Sabbath is ordained "in order that the son of the maidservant may be refreshed, ἵνα ἀναψύξῃ [where B* reads ἀναπαύσηται](M.T., וינפש). Ex. 31:17, "on the seventh day the Lord rested [from creation] and was refreshed." The LXX uses the word κατέπαυσεν to express this refreshment, but Aquila used ἀνέψυξεν , (M.T., ויפח). Cf. the interesting noun ὁ ἀναψυκτήρ , "the one who refreshes from labors (πόνων), "in Euripides, Tragicorum Graecorum Fragmenta[2] (ed. A. Nauck, 1889), 146.

[35]Judg. 15:19, Samson, having slain the Philistines, was exhausted until God granted water from a rock "and he was refreshed," καὶ ἀνέψυξεν according to A, σ', θ'; B reads ἔζησε , "he revived," (M.T., ויחי). II Kings 16:14, David and his weary men refreshed themselves at the Jordan River, καὶ ἀνέψυξαν ἐκεῖ , (M.T., וינפש).

[36]I βασ . 16:23, whenever David played on his harp before Saul, the King was refreshed, καὶ ἀνέψυχε Σαούλ (M.T., ורוח). H. P. Smith, A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Books of Samuel (1904), 149f., translates here "and he breathed freely," suggesting on the basis of the LXX that Saul's affliction was attended by periods of suffocation. In Ps. 38[39]:14 the Psalmist prays to God in the midst of his anguish: "Look away from me, that I may be refreshed, ἄνες μοι ἵνα ἀναψύξω (M.T., ואבליגה). II Macc. 13:11, Judas would not allow the people, now refreshed, to fall into the hands of a pagan king, τὸν ἄρτι βραχέως ἀνεψυχότα λαόν.

[37]II Macc. 4:46, Ptolemy took the king aside as if wishing to get some fresh air, ὡς ἀναψύξοντα . Perhaps Isa. 34:14 Aquila also belongs here. In the context of a description of the desolation of Edom: "There the night hag shall refresh herself and find a resting-place; ἐκεῖ ἀνέψυξεν λιλιθ καὶ εὗρεν ἑαυτὴν ἀνάπαυσιν (LXX ἀναπαύσονται . . . ἀνάπαυσιν).

in its association of the refreshing encouragement Paul had experienced from his friend with what appears to be eschatological refreshment, expressed in the words "he often refreshed me . . . may the Lord grant him to find mercy from the Lord in that Day." The mercy (ἔλεος) which Paul desires for Onesiphorus in the eschatological judgment is at least comparable to the refreshing he has experienced from Onesiphorus, so that in this context ἀναψύχειν and εὑρεῖν ἔλεος may be synonymous terms.[38] The verb ἀναψύχειν occurs as a

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[38]A similar instance where ἀναψύχειν may occur in an eschatological context occurs in Ignatius, ad Eph. 2:1, "And Crocus also . . . has relieved (ἀνέπαυσεν) me in every way--may the Father of Jesus Christ refresh him in like manner" (ὡς καὶ αὐτὸν ὁ πατὴρ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ ἀναψύξαι). The similarity in thought and expression to II Tim. 1:16 suggests that the refreshment from the Father occurs at the end-time.

In the ancient Church of San Sabastiano on the Via Appia outside of Rome several inscriptions were discovered which speak of eschatological refreshment: Petre et Paule Tomius coelius refrigerium feci: At Paulum et Petrum refrigeravi; Dalmatus votum is promisit refrigerium. See P. Styger, Il Monumento Apostolico a San Sebastiano sulla Via Appia (1932),10. Closely allied to this meaning of refrigerium is a passage in the Acta Petri 17 (ed. Lipsius I, 64:3) where Peter urges the wealthy woman Eubula to "renounce this present world and seek for everlasting refreshment" (ut abrenuntiare possis huis praesenti saeculo et quaerere aeternum refrigerium).

Refrigerium is the usual Latin translation of ἀνάψυξις in Acts 3:19-21, e.g. d, ut veniant temporii refrigerii; h, ut tempora vobis refrigeris supraviniat; Tert. de res. carn. 23, uti tempora vobis superveniant refrigerii; Iren., III. xii. 3, et veniant vobis tempora refrigerii. On the term refrigerium and its various shades of meaning see E. Buonaiuti, "Refrigerio pagano e refrigerio christiano," Ricerche religiose 5 (1929), 160-167; Mircea Eliade, "Locum refrigerii . .

variant reading also in Rom. 15:32, where Paul exhorts the Roman Christians to pray that by God's will he may come to them with joy and be refreshed in their company, ἀναψύξω (-ύχω) μεθ' ὑμῶν .[39] In both of thes New Testament passages the thought conveyed by the verb is of refreshment after strenuous toil or affliction as a present experience, in agreement with the Septuagintal usages of the word.[40]

Ἀναψυχή occurs three times in the LXX where it renders three different terms. In Ps. 65 [66]:12 ἀναψυχή is

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. ," Zalmoxis, Revue des études religieuses 1 (1938), 203-208; F. Grossi-Gondi, Il rito funebre del "refrigerium" al sepolcro apostolico dell' Via Appia (1920) [See esp. 263ff. for the funeral meal, the Refrigerium]; C. Mohrmann, "'Locus refrigerii, lucis et pacis," Questions Liturgiques et Paroissiales 39 (1958), 196-214; A. Perrot, Le "Refrigerium" dans l'au delà (1937); J. Quasten, "'Vestus superstitio et nova religio,' the Problem of Refrigerium in the Ancient Church of North Africa," HTR 33 (1940), 253-266 [Refrigerium--the funeral banquet, retained from the pagan cult of the dead, 257-259]; A. M. Schneider, Refrigerium nach literarischen Quellen und Inschriften, (1928).

[39] D E (G, ἀναψύχω) latt. refrigerer vobiscum. Most other texts read σὺν ἀναπαύσωμαι ὑμῖν . The entire clause is omitted by P46 B.

[40] In addition to the use of ἀναψύχειν discussed in note 38, the verb occurs only one other time in the Apostolic Fathers. Ignatius asserts, "For it is right that each one of you, and especially the presbyters, should refresh the bishop . . . ἀναψύχειν τὸν ἐπίσκοπον ," Tral. 12:2. Here the verb is used in precisely the same sense of "furnishing encouragement" which is found in II Tim. 1:16. In the Acta Petri the same meaning is attached to the verb refrigerare several times [Acta Petri VI (ed. Lipsius I, 51:27; 52:31; cf. 53:1), XXV (I, 73:1); XXX (I. 81:4)]. The last instance is particularly instructive for both the Greek and Latin texts are here extant: ὅτι ἤμελλον οἱ θλιβόμενοι ἀναψύχειν = quoniam pauperes refrigeraturi erant.

that refreshment which is God's provision after severe affliction. The Psalmist celebrates God's might in the Exodus,[41] and remembers the experience of deliverance as a breath of fresh air after the heat of affliction:

> Thou didst bring us into the net;
> Thou didst lay affliction upon our loins.
> Thou didst let men ride over our heads;
> We went through fire and through water--
> Yet thou hast brought us forth unto refreshment (vv.11-12).[42]

Bound up with the word are associations of relief from crushing and the joy of a gracious reversal of fortune. But in the other two occurrences of the term ἀναψυχή denotes that comfortable feeling of security which comes to a nation which is prosperous and self-satisfied. In a context describing the violence and iniquity of Ephraim, Hosea likens the Northern Kingdom to a merchant who gains wealth through falsehood and oppression.

> A trader, in whose hands are false balances,
> he loves to oppress.
> Ephraim has said, Nevertheless I am rich;
> I have found refreshment for myself (Hos.12:8-9 LXX).[43]

Similarly, in Jer. 30:26 [= M.T. 49:31] the Lord commands

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[41] See esp. vv.5-7.

[42] καὶ ἐξήγαγες ἡμᾶς εἰς ἀναψυχήν , where ἀναψυχήν renders הָרְוָחָה.

[43] πλὴν πεπλούτηκα, εὕρηκα ἀναψυχὴν ἐμαυτῷ. Both the context, and the Hebrew term which ἀναψυχή renders (אוֹן, wealth), suggest that some word for "wealth" would have served as well in this passage.

Nebuchadnezzar to smite Kedar and the Kingdom of Hazor: "Rise up and advance against a nation well established (εὐσταθοῦν), sitting self-satisfied (καθήμενον εἰς ἀναψυχήν)." Ἀναψυχή here corresponds to בטח, that state of comfortable relaxation bred of false security which is the prelude to judgment. Common to each of these three instances of ἀναψυχή is its application in a corporate sense. The papyri, however, attest the use of ἀναψυχή of that personal refreshment an individual may experience. In an urgent appeal to her husband who has become a recluse in the Serapeum a woman anticipates his return, "thinking that now at last on your return I should obtain some refreshment."[44] Here ἀναψυχή is associated with that joy and relief from concern which will result from reconciliation.

The form ἀνάψυξις is less common than ἀναψυχή, occurring only once in the Septuagint. The eighth chapter of Exodus recounts the terrible plague of frogs which afflicted the Egyptians until Pharaoh promised to release the Israelite slaves. But when the frogs were removed, ἰδὼν δὲ φαραὼ ὅτι γέγονεν ἀνάψυξις, ἐβαρύνθη ἡ καρδία αὐτοῦ. This phrase may be translated "but when Pharaoh saw that there

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[44] P. Lond. 42[18] (B.C., 168): δο[κο]ῦσα ν[ῦ]ν[ν]ε σοῦ παραγενομένου τεύξεσθαί τινος ἀναψυχῆς. The noun is also found in P. Vat. A15 (B.C. 168), a letter addressed to the same recluse by his brother, who is obviously in collusion with the wife.

was relief, he hardened his heart."[45] The thought conveyed by the term ἀνάψυξις in this context is of a time to catch one's breath. But there is nothing in this passage or in its context to suggest that it motivated Luke's choice of ἀνάψυξις to express the thought of the times of refreshment in Acts 3:20.

There are two other occurrences of the term ἀνάψυξις, however, which have been unduly neglected in the study of this word. The first instance occurs in Aquila's translation of Isaiah 28:12, where it conveys the thought of refreshing rest. The context directs the attention of Judah's rulers to the catastrophic disaster which has overtaken the Northern Kingdom, as a warning of the certain end to which similar conduct is plunging the Kingdom of Judah.[46] Samaria, once "a proud crown" adorning the summit of the hill upon which it stood, has already fallen. Yahweh's agent, Assyria, has inundated it like a flood, so that it lays in ruins. But a remnant of Ephraim will revive and flourish. Then Israel will trust in Jahweh's protection rather than in material

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The Hebrew term רְוָחָה is usually translated "respite," but in the only other place where it occurs, Lam.3:56, it may have the sense of "relief," as suggested in the translation of Ex. 8:15. Symmachus rendered רוחה in Ex. 8:15 by ἄνεσις.

[46] See on this passage especially E. J. Kissane. The Book of Isaiah I Chaps I-XXXIX (1941), 308-20, who treats the prophecy as a poetic unit of five strophes of eight verses each.

defences, and a reign of justice and peace will follow (vv.1-6). But Judah's rulers are also drunkards, whose tables are covered with the filth of debauchery. They are wearied with the prophet's counsel; they refuse to heed his warnings: confident in the measures they have taken for Judah's defence, all his talk about law and disaster and restoration is to them just so much jargon. The way to security that Jahweh has shown them they have refused, and this refusal has sealed their ruin (vv.7-13). The policy they have adopted against Assyria will prove futile in the face of neglect of the one avenue of deliverance, trust in Yahweh and right conduct (vv.14-17). Disaster cannot be escaped. Waves of invasion will relentlessly come upon them. Then at the utterance of the prophet mockery will be turned to dismay, for Yahweh appears in a new role, as the enemy of His people. Unless the people be warned now disaster must come (vv.18-22). Yet Yahweh's purposes can be best conveyed in two parables. The farmer is not always ploughing and harrowing, but only to prepare the soil for sowing. So also the chastening of Yahweh will be followed by restoration. The purpose of threshing is to separate the seed from the husk, and the farmer uses for each crop the method which will accomplish his purpose without injuring the grain. So Yahweh's purpose is to purify, not to destroy, His people (vv.23-29).

In the midst of this context is the promise of rest

which Aquila interpreted in terms of ἀνάψυξις. The passage runs.

> Nay, but by men of strange lips and with another tongue the Lord will speak to this people, to whom He has said,
>
> a. זאת המנוחה — a. "This is rest;
> b. הניחו לעיף — b. Give rest to the weary;
> c. וזאת המרגעה — c. And this is repose;"
>
> Yet they would not hear. (vv.11-12).

The first two lines of the Hebrew text offered no difficulties, nor opportunities for an interpretive rendering, to the several Greek translators. They agree in translating the words τοῦτο τὸ ἀνάπαυμα / τῷ πεινῶντι. The noun הַמַּרְגֵּעָה, however, occurs only here in the Old Testament, and apparently there was no consistent tradition of interpretation attached to this term.[47] This is suggested by the great freedom the several Greek translations exhibit at this point:

LXX	καὶ τοῦτο τὸ σύντριμμα.
Aquila	καὶ αὕτη ἡ ἀνάψυξις! .
Sym.	καὶ αὕτη ἡ βρεμία.
Theod., 86	καὶ οὗτος ὁ ἀγνισμός.

The term σύντριμμα occurs frequently in the Septuagint with the meaning "fracture," "ruin," or "devastation."[48] The

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[47]The probable explanation for this fact lies in the poetical nature of the noun מַרְגֵּעָה and the related form מַרְגּוֹעַ which occurs in Jer. 6:16. These nouns are clearly related to the verb רָגַע, to be at rest, repose, furnishing a close parallel to the noun מְנוּחָה.

[48]Thus in Isaiah, 22:4 (destruction); 30:14 (smashing), 26 (wounds); 51:19 (destruction); 59:7 (destruction); 60:18 (devastation). Cf. Rom. 3:16.

meaning of the underlying Hebrew text as understood by the Septuagint may be suggested in the paraphrase, "this counsel (τοῦτο) which I have given will mean rest to the weary, but this counsel (καὶ τοῦτο) which you have chosen to follow can only mean ruin." This interpretation of the passage ignores the parallelism between וזאת המנוחה and וזאת המרגעה, which demands for המרגעה a term which is in harmony with ἀνάπαυμα. The reading of Codex 86 and Theodotion, καὶ οὗτος ὁ ἁγνισμὸς is not less interpretive, "and this is the expiation" or "purification." There is nothing in the immediate context to suggest why Theodotion chose a sacrificial term at this point. The renderings of both Aquila, and Symmachus are more intelligible, for both ἡ ἀνάψυξις, "refreshment," and ἡ ἠρεμία, "rest," "quietude,"[49] are synonymous terms with ἀνάπαυμα, and interpret the hapax legomenon המרגעה by the parallel expression המנוחה. The terminological difference in their renderings merely attests an independent appeal by Aquila and Symmachus to an interpretive tradition of the passage which recognized the existence of parallelism in the first and third members of the tri-colon. What is significant in Aquila's translation is that he found ἀνάψυξις an appropriate term to use, and he used it in a context where the refreshment promised by the Lord demands a response on the part of the corporate community. If the people would listen to God's

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[49] Cf. the cognate term ἤρεμος in I Tim. 2:2.

counsel the refreshment would be a present experience, but the people have hardened their hearts, "they would not hear."[50] The elements of refreshment from the Lord as a present experience and the demand for a community response must be considered in the exegesis of Acts 3:19-21.

The second passage occurs in Symmachus' translation of Isaiah 32, a chapter which appears to be an indirect indictment of the rulers of Isaiah's own day.[51] The prophet states that if kings and princes ruled with just regard for the law of God and for the rights of men, protecting the weak and distressed and punishing the evil-doer, the fool and the knave would not be honored (vv.1-5). But as it is the fool dishonors God in deed and word, and by his neglect of the poor; the knave harms his fellow through false testimony and corruption of justice. If kings and princes ruled as they should such men would be punished as they deserve, while the righteous man would be honored for his noble deeds

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[50]The parallel with Ex. 8:15 in this respect is striking: God gives relief, refreshment; but the people harden their heart.

[51]The older interpreters refer the prophecy to the future or the end-time. Cf. B. Duhm, Das Buch Jesaia[3] (1914), 208, 212f.; K. Marti, Das Buch Jesaja (1900), 233-35; C. von Orelli, The Prophecies of Isaiah (1895), 182f.; G. W. Wade, The Book of the Prophet Isaiah (1929), 204-208. There are good reasons, however, to understand the prophecy as an indictment of contemporary court society with E. Koenig, Das Buch Jesaja (1926) ad loc., and Kissane, op. cit., 358f., 362. Kissane translates the opening lines, "If a king reigned with righteousness,/And if princes ruled with justice. . . . " The prophecy is a poetic unit consisting of five strophes of six verses each.

(vv.6-8). But judgment is coming, and the women of Judah who are now happy and secure will soon weep. When the vintage season comes there will be no cause for rejoicing, and the women will wear the garb of mourning (vv.9-11). Judah will be desolate, and the women will mourn over the abandoned fields and vineyards, and over the ruined city. Their sorrow will endure "until Spirit from on high" alters the condition of the land and the people (vv.12-15b). Then Judah will be transformed from a wilderness into a fertile field; its rulers will embrace principles of righteousness; its people will be prosperous and free from oppression (vv.15c-20).

The key passage in the prophecy is verse 15, which marks a turning point in the description of the desolation which is to come. The palace will be forsaken, the populous city deserted, the watch-tower abandoned "until the Spirit is poured upon us from on high, and the wilderness become a fruitful field, and the fruitful field is deemed a forest."[52] The following table will indicate the interpretive nature of Symmachus' translation:

Isa. 32:15	LXX	Symmachus
עד־יערה עלינו רוח ממרום והיה מדבר לברמל וברמל ליער יחשב׃	ἕως ἂν ἐπέλθῃ ἐφ' ὑμᾶς πνεῦμα ἀφ' ὑψηλοῦ καὶ ἔσται ἔρημος ὁ Χερμελ καὶ ὁ Χερμελ εἰς δρυμὸν λογισθήσεται.	ἕως ἂν ἐπέλθῃ ἐφ' ὑμᾶς ἀναψυξις ἐξ ὕψους καὶ ἔσται ἔρημος ὁ Καρμηλος ὁ δὲ Καρμηλος εἰς δρυμὸν λογισθήσεται.

[52] Isa. 32:15 R.S.V.

A comparison of the first line draws attention to the term עלינו, "upon us," which is rendered by both the Septuagint and Symmachus ἐφ' ὑμᾶς "upon you." To judge by the available evidence, there is no inter-Semitic textual variation at this point to account for the Greek text.[53] Moreover, the original reading of a single Manuscript, Codex Sinaiticus, ἐφ' ἡμᾶς, is clearly based on a Vorlage which read עלינו. But even this single witness to a Septuagintal text which corresponded faithfully to the Massoretic text has been altered to conform with all other Greek manuscripts by a later hand. The evidence, while not overwhelming, is sufficient to suggest a conjecture. With rare exceptions, the manuscripts of the Septuagint which are extant today are the work of Christian scribes. No definitely pre-Christian Greek texts may be cited for Isa. 32:15. Yet the original reading of Codex Sinaiticus suggests that pre-Christian manuscripts of the Septuagint contained the reading ἐφ' ἡμᾶς. This reading, however, was early and consistently altered to ἐφ' ὑμᾶς by Christian scribes to express a theological distinction. The Christian community had already experienced the outpouring of the Spirit promised to Israel in this passage. But the Jew-

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[53] Thus MT, 1QIsa[a] Targum and Peshitta all support עלינו The fragments of 1QIsa[b] do not cover Ch. 32. Unfortunately the text of Aquila, which presumably would reflect faithfully the Hebrew Text of his day, is not available for this passage.

ish community had not. It was participation in the Spirit which distinguished the Christian from the Jewish community in the eyes of the later Church. The Old Testament Scriptures belonged to both of these communities, but for only one had the passage become a reality. The phrase ἐφ' ἡμᾶς was, therefore, too comprehensive from a Christian perspective, and was so consistently altered to the more pointed and limited ἐφ' ὑμᾶς that the original reading survives in a single manuscript.[54] How early such a Christian perspective could have originated is evident from Acts 2:16-39, where the outpouring of the Spirit is described. The primitive Christian community has already experienced this outpouring, but to Israel is given the invitation to enter the Messianic Community "for to you and to your children is the promise" of Spirit outpoured.[55] What distinguishes the Christian Community from Israel is participation in the Spirit. If this conjecture be correct, already in the Septuagint text as transmitted by

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[54]Evidence for similar Christian alteration of the Greek text is preserved in Justin's Dial. 73, where he wrongly accuses the Jews of expunging from their text the words "from the tree" in Ps. 95:1-13 LXX. These words appear neither in the M.T. nor the present LXX text (except in one MS), but were known to Tertullian, and probably to Barnabas (cf.Barn.8:5). They are an early Christian addition. Cf. Justin, Apol. I. 41:4; Dial. 72. It is possible that the textual variant χριστός in K L, 30 min., Clem, in I Pet. 2:3 represents a similar alteration made for polemic purposes.

[55]It is worth noting that in Acts 2:39 D, d, Augustine reflect the comprehensive terminology of Isa. 32:15, reading ὑμεῖν γάρ ἐστιν ἡ ἐπαγγελία καὶ τοῖς τέκνοις ὑμῶν .

Christian scribes there existed a theological interpretation of Isa. 32:15.

The text of Symmachus contains the reading ἐφ' ὑμᾶς together with the phrase ἀνάψυξις ἐξ ὕψους. This latter phrase is a striking interpretive rendering of the Hebrew text רוח ממרום, which in the Septuagint was translated literally by πνεῦμα ἀφ' ὑψηλοῦ.[56] Symmachus clearly understands the outpouring of πνεῦμα ἀφ' ὑψηλοῦ in terms of ἀνάψυξις ἐξ ὕψους. The significance of this understanding is sharpened by two facts. First, the text of Symmachus in Isa. 32:15 was the text known to Eusebius of Caesarea and used by him in his commentary on Isaiah.[57] The fact that Eusebius used this text and the early identification of Symmachus as a Jewish-Christian,[58] suggests that the understand-

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[56] In exploring all possibilities for this deviation, Dr. Robert Kraft has suggested to me that Symmachus worked with a Vorlage which read רוח instead of רוח. In the absence of any evidence to support this conjecture, it would be better to hold with J. Ziegler, "Textkritische Notizen zu den juengeren griechischen Uebersetzungen des Buches Isaias," NGG (1939), 91 that Symmachus read רוח instead of רוח on the analogy of Ex. 8:11 LXX, where ἀνάψυξις = רְוָחָה.

[57] The commentary on Isaiah by Eusebius is known, with the exception of a few fragments, primarily from catena texts and from the as yet unedited margin of the Florentine codex, Laurentianus Pluteus, XI 4. See J. Ziegler (ed.), Septuaginta Vetus Testamentum Graecum . . . Gottingensis editum Vol. XIV Isaias (1939), 12, 109, 237f. and A. Moehle, "Ein neuer Fund zahlreicher Stuecke aus den Jesaiauebersetzungen des Akylas, Symmachos und Theodotion," ZAW 11 (1934), 176-183.

[58] On the relationship of Eusebius' Isaiah Comm. to that of Procopius of Gaza, (MPG LXXXVII, 1817-2718), which first drew attention to the reading of Symmachus, see Ziegler,

ing of the coming of the Spirit in terms of ἀνάψυξις was a Christian interpretation of theological importance in the early Church. If Symmachus was not a Christian, his interpretation of the coming of the Spirit in terms of ἀνάψυξις tends to indicate a wider acquaintance in Jewish circles with the ideas associated with ἀνάψυξις than texts now extant would suggest. On either score, the importance of the use of ἀνάψυξις in an eschatological context to express the result of the outpouring of the Holy Spirit needs to be stressed.

Secondly, there is evidence that the distinctive text-form preserved by Symmachus was not due to his hand, but represents an earlier text known to, and used by Luke in Acts 3: 19-20. This is particularly clear in the so-called "Western" recension of the text, where the compound verb and the addition of ὑμῖν, betrays the influence of this text on the formulation of Acts 3:20. The following table will show the degree of approximation to the text preserved by Symmachus in "Western" text of Acts 3:20.

Acts 3:20 Alexandrian	Isa. 32:15 Symmachus	Acts 3:20 Western
ὅπως ἂν ἔλθωσιν	ἕως ἂν ἐπέλθῃ ἐφ' ὑμᾶς	ὅπως ἂν ἐπέλθωσιν ὑμῖν
καιροὶ ἀναψύξεως ἀπὸ προσώπου τοῦ κυρίου	ἀνάψυξις ἐξ ὕψους	καιροὶ ἀναψύξεως ἀπὸ προσώπου τοῦ κυρίου

op. cit., 110. Eusebius (H.E. VI, 17: Dem. Ev. viii.1); and Jerome, Comm. in Hab. iii, De vir. ill. liv.) identify Symmachus as an Ebionite. On the other hand, the influence of Rabbinic exegesis is more marked in the version of Symmachus than in either Aquila or Theodotion. Cf. H. J. Schoeps, "Symmachus-studien III," Biblica 29 (1948), 31-51, where a dozen convincing instances are discussed.

The compound ἐπέλθωσιν[59] corresponds to the compound ἐπέλθῃ in Symmachus, while the ὑμῖν[60] answers to the ἐφ' ὑμᾶς of the Isaiah passage. These features, together with the rare ἀνάψυξις, appear to constitute a conscious allusion to the Isaiah passage by Luke, or by the redactor responsible for the "Western" text, should that text prove to be secondary at this point. Symmachus' text of Isa. 32:15, more than any other passage in which the term ἀνάψυξις occurs, is the one which has relevance for the interpretation of the expression καιροὶ ἀναψύξεως in Acts 3:20, for its indicates what eschatological associations the term ἀνάψυξις includes. The evidence is clear that for Symmachus and his

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[59] D h (supraviniat) Tert res carn 23 (superveniant). It is significant that the Fluery palimpsest h contains the compound, for this text is "virtually purely 'western' in its fragments of Acts." J. H. Ropes, BC III (1920), cccxiii . It is difficult to decide whether Luke wrote ἔλθωσιν or ἐπέλθωσιν, but two considerations suggest that the "Western" recension is the more nearly original one. First, while Luke uses ἐλθεῖν uncompounded with great frequency, it is perhaps significant that the majority (seven out of nine) instances of ἐπελθεῖν are distinctively Lucan. Secondly, in two instances where Luke speaks of the descent of the Holy Spirit he clearly uses the compound ἐπελθεῖν, Lk. 1:35 (πνεῦμα ἅγιον ἐπελεύσεται ἐπὶ σέ) and Acts 1:8 (ἐπελθόντος τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος ἐφ' ὑμᾶς). In the petition for the Spirit in some MSS of the Lord's prayer in Luke (11:2) the form is ἐλθάτω ἐφ' ἡμᾶς.

[60] E, e, h, Iren adv. haer. III. xii. 3, Tert res carn. 23, Syhl, Arm, Vg codd.; cf. Bed retract 112: In quadam translatione hunc versum ita propter explanationem sensus positum invenimus: Uti cum venerint tempora refrigerii, veniant et vobis a facie dominus. Et revera in Graeco sic scriptum est, cum additamento pronominis illius: Uti cum venerint vobis tempora refrigerii a facie domini.

predecessors, not resurrection as Sahlin has suggested,[61] but the outpouring of the Spirit is integral to the refreshment. When πνεῦμα comes, ἀνάψυξις comes, so that οἱ καιροὶ ἀναψύξεως are equivalent to οἱ καιροὶ τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος.[62] The corporate reference in ἀνάψυξις which was noted in Aquila's use of the term is faithfully reproduced in the text of Symmachus as well.

The appropriateness of this interpretation of καιροὶ ἀναψύξεως which is commended by Symmachus' treatment of Isa. 32:15 is apparent when the speeches attributed to Peter in Acts 2:14-39 and 3:12-26 are seen as a unit. The speech

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[61] See above, pp. 147-149.

[62] A parallel to Luke's use of a surrogate for the Spirit is found in Luke 11:20, "If I, by the finger of God, . . . " The parallel Matthean passage is very explicit, "If I by the Spirit of God . . . ," yet there is general agreement among modern commentators that the Lucan form is more primitive and original. See the excellent discussion of this passage and its background by G. W. H. Lampe, "The Holy Spirit in the Writings of St. Luke," in Studies in the Gospels (Essays in Memory of R. H. Lightfoot, 1955), 171f. A second instance is Luke 24:49, "until you be clothed with power from on high." Here the formulation may be a deliberate echo of the text used by Symmachus at Isa. 32:15:

Isa. 32:15 Symmachus	Lk. 24:49
ἕως ἂν ἐπέλθῃ	ἕως οὗ ἐνδύσησθε
ἐφ' ὑμᾶς	
ἀνάψυξις ἐξ ὕψους	ἐξ ὕψους δύναμιν

The two texts share a circumlocution for the Spirit, and the concept of the Spirit ἐξ ὕψους . If the detection of the influence of Isa. 32:15 on Lk. 24:49 be correct, it is apparent that this text has been of far greater significance to Luke than has previously been suspected.

in Acts 2 begins by a citation and christological interpretation of Joel 2:28-38, which speaks of the outpouring of the Holy Spirit.[63] It is the gift of the Spirit and the demonstration of His presence in the Community which informs the kerygma of Peter. It is the outpouring of the Spirit which undergirds the declaration that God has publicly reversed the decision of those who had rejected Jesus' messianic claim, raising Him from the dead, thereby declaring with power that Jesus is both Lord and Messiah (v.36). In virtue of His messianic exaltation Jesus has received the fulfilment of the promise made through the prophet Joel, and has poured forth the Holy Spirit to certify this fact (v.33). What Yahweh had promised to do, Jesus has now done. These assertions lead to the categorical demand for repentance in v.38-39:

> Repent and be baptized everyone of you in the name of Jesus Christ for the forgiveness of your sins; and you shall receive the promise of the Holy Spirit. For the promise is to you and to your children. . . . "

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[63] Acts 2:17-21, 32-33, 38-39. The expression ἐν ταῖς ἐσχάταις ἡμέραις in v.17 is an example of concretizing the general expression אחר-כן (LXX, μετὰ ταῦτα), in the interest of a christological interpretation. It may be judged in the light of the Jewish dictum that "all the prophets prophesied only with respect to the days of the Messiah," b. Ber. 34b, Sanh. 99a—Joel 2:28-38 is distinct from Isa. 32:15 in emphasizing the effect of the Spirit's presence upon the people, whereas the latter passage emphasizes the fertility of the land; but both passages attribute the gift of the Spirit to Yahweh's sovereign disposition. For the later Jewish discussion of Joel 3:1-5 (E.T. 2:28-32) see P. Billerbeck, "Joel 3, 1-5 in der altrabbinischen Literatur," Str-B II, (1924), 615-17.

This demand for repentance and the promise of the Spirit furnishes the apex to which the entire message was leading.

The occasion which frames Peter's address in Acts 3 is distinct from that in Acts 2, and this occasion colors the proclamation until Peter arrives at the demand for repentance in vv.19-21. The language is distinctive in this demand, with its reference to the times of refreshment, but the thought-structure basic to the demand appears to be parallel to that of Acts 2:38f. It is instructive to study the extent of this parallelism, which may be set forth in tabular form:

Acts 2:38	Acts 3:19-20
μετανοήσατε καὶ βαπτισθήτω	μετανοήσατε οὖν καὶ ἐπιστρέψατε
...εἰς ἄφεσιν τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν ὑμῶν	πρὸς τὸ ἐξαλειφθῆναι ὑμῶν τὰς ἁμαρτίας
καὶ λήμψεσθε	ὅπως ἂν ἔλθωσιν
τὴν δωρεὰν τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος	καιροὶ ἀναψύξεως ἀπὸ προσώπου τοῦ κυρίου

The thought-parallelism is impressive. Repentance, conversion (baptism), the forgiveness of sins[64] and the reception of the gift of God inform both passages. The parallelism supports the contention that the coming and presence of the Holy Spirit is what is meant by "times of refreshment." If the Greek wording corresponds to an Aramaic expression the plural in καιροί indicates duration.[65] The expression καιροὶ ἀναψύξεως is descriptive of that new period into which the Jerusalem Community has entered, a period which has some of

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[64] In contrast to the general baptismal formula with respect to the forgiveness of sins in Acts 2:38, ἐξαλειφθῆναι in Acts 3:19 is concrete, having reference to the specific sins referred to in 3:13-15.

[65] C. C. Torrey, Composition and Date of Acts (1916), 29.

the earmarks of the consummation, but which is distinct from the consummation. The presence of the Holy Spirit within the Community together with the delay of the consummation has led to the periodization of traditional hopes, the new period being designated καιροὶ ἀναψύξεως.

If a Semitic expression be sought which would appear to parallel in content ἀνάψυξις it may be found in the rabbinic phrase קְרַת רוּחַ. Meaning literally "the cooling of the spirit," this expression occurs in both non-eschatological and eschatological contexts. The primary thought in the phrase is that of cool refreshment, which is basic to the verb ἀναψύχειν and its cognate nouns.[66] Like ἀναψύχειν, its meaning extends from contentment or satisfaction to encouragement or refreshment.[67] It is of particular interest when used in an eschatological context to express the refreshment experienced in the age to come. With this sense it is found in a sentence which is twice repeated in the literature, attributed to Rabbi Jacob [ben Kurshai],[68] of the

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[66]The expression was formed from the verb קרר, "to be cold," which in the Nithpael נתקרר means "to grow calm." In Prov. 17:27 we read of the man who has a cool spirit, וקר-רוח that is, who is calm and self-possessed. From this primary meaning it was only a step to thought of refreshment of spirit which is expressed in the phrase קרת רוח. A parallel expression is קרת נפש. See Eliezer ben Yehuda, Thesaurus totius hebraitatis et veteris et recentioris (n.d.) XII, 6162f.

[67]See Appendix II, "קרת רוח in the Rabbinic Literature," where the evidence is set forth fully.

[68]The dictum is attributed simply to Rabbi Jacob, and

second half of the second century A.D.

> R. Jacob used to say, "Better is one hour of repentance and good works in this age than all the life of the age to come; better is one hour of refreshment of spirit in the age to come than all the life of this age.[69]

The statement takes the form of a paradox in which first this age and then the age to come is given the preeminence, and the rabbinic commentators have outdone one another in interpreting this statement.[70] What is of special interest is

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there is an element of question as to the identity of this man. However, the preceding maxim, which is also attributed to Rabbi Jacob in Pirke Aboth IV. 16, occurs in Koheleth Rabbah IV. 6 with the full name R. Jacob ben Kurshai. Of the commentators on Pirke Aboth, S. Bamberger, Pirke Aboth, Die Sprueche der Vaeter[2] (1914), 45, appears to stand alone in identifying R. Jacob with a first century, A.D. figure: "Rabbi Jakob, der Vater des unter dem Namen Rabbi Elieser ben Jakob bekannten Mischna-Lehrers, lebte zur Zeit der Tempelzerstoerung." H. L. Strack, Einleitung in Talmud und Midrasch[5] (1921), 131; P. Fiebig, Pirque 'aboth, Der Mischnatractate "Sprueche der Vaeter" (1906), 25, n.3; and K. Marti and G. Beer in their critical edition of 'Abot, (1927), 71, n.1, agree in identifying R. Jacob as a contemporary of Rabbi Judah ha-Nasi, c.160-222 A.D.

[69]Aboth IV. 17; Aboth de R. Nathan[B] XXXIII:
הוא היה אומר יפה שעה אחת בתשובה ומעשים טובים בעולם
הזה מכל חיי העולם הבא יפה שעה אחת של קורת רוח בעולם
הבא מכל חיי העולם הזה:

[70]Among the modern commentators see C. Taylor, Sayings of the Jewish Fathers (1877), p.88; T. R. Herford, Pirke Aboth (1925), pp.116f. and esp. K. Marti and G. Beer, op. cit., 107f. Among the medieval rabbinic commentators the most ingenious is the author of Midrash Shemuel, who rejects all the earlier explanations on the ground that they depend on a comparison of realities which cannot be compared, this age and the age to come. He finds no comparison in the statement. Rather the מ in the phrase מכל חיי העולם הזה is not the מ of comparison, but the מ of causation. The meaning he finds is that those things which are caused by, or prompted by the thought of the world to come are יפה', fair or excellent. In the world to

the association of refreshment, קרת רוח with the age to come. Neither here, nor anywhere else in the literature does קרת רוח appear to be theological, in the strict sense of that term. It is a purely anthropological term without any necessary reflection on the source of the refreshment experienced. In the dictum of R. Jacob the first part turns on the opposition between activity and passivity. The life of mitzvoth, of repentance and good deeds, is an end in itself in the Rabbinic literature, and from one point of view is better than all of the life of the world to come, where activity has been exchanged for rest. But the second half of the comparison turns on the opposition between heavenly and earthly concepts of what is truly good. The joy of the age to come consists in the refreshment of spirit which has been won by arduous toil in this age, and is as the joy of harvest after the reaping has been completed. From this perspective

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come the refreshment of spirit which is caused by or has been attained through all of the life of this world is also פה'. This explanation, while not impossible grammatically, seems very forced, for פה'...מ' almost invariably introduces an intended comparison, and all other commentators have so understood this passage.

From the textual apparatus listed by Strack, Die Sprueche der Vaeter (1915), ad loc., it is clear that in the MS transcription there has been an attempt to mitigate the sharpness of the contrast, by reading "פה' בח", "as fair as." This is the reading of R [Mishna-codex de Rossi, #138, in Parma ; A [Codex Berolin. Orient. #569]; J1 [Codex Berolin. Orient. #627], and L [MS of Dr. M. Chamizer, in Leipzig, dated 1654]. In A a later hand has corrected the text to read "מבל ח"; in J2 [Codex Berolin, Orient. #629] the reading is "מח".

the age to come is better than this age. But in both parts of the sentence it is man, and not the Spirit, who is centrally in view.

Nevertheless, it is not without significance that R. Jacob can speak of a time of refreshment, שעה אחת קורת רוח, as a constituitive part of the saving age to come. This may have been one element in a complex of associations which would be called forth by the expression καιροὶ ἀναψύξεως. There is no suggestion, however, that the Rabbis ever thought of a time of refreshment in an eschatological sense apart from the age to come, preceding that age and anticipating the fuller experience of that age. Such a construction is a distinctively Christian one, arising from the need to explain the presence of the Spirit within the Community together with the delay of the consummation. To express the manifestation of the new age in an anticipatory way Paul spoke of ὁ ἀρραβών or ἡ ἀπαρχή ,[71] but the Jerusalem Community spoke of καιροὶ ἀναψύξεως, by which they meant a period advanced on the eschatological time-table in which the Spirit of God was within the messianic community.

The second term within the Acts passage which needs

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[71] II Cor. 1:22; 5:5; Eph. 1:14 (ἀρραβών); Rom. 8:23 (ἀπαρχή). On the former see B. Ahern, "The Indwelling Spirit, Pledge of Our Inheritance (Eph. 1:14)," CBQ 9 (1947), 179-189; on the latter H. Beer, Ἀπαρχή (Diss. Wuerzberg, 1914). It is significant that the content of both terms is the Spirit.

definition is the expression χρόνοι ἀποκαταστάσεως πάντων, where πάντων is qualified by the words ὧν ἐλάλησεν ὁ θεὸς διὰ στόματος τῶν ἁγίων ἀπ' αἰῶνος αὐτοῦ προφητῶν. Ἀποκατάστασις is not found either in the Septuagint, nor elsewhere in the New Testament. It does occur in the Hellenistic writers, usually in an astronomical sense.[72] In Josephus it is once used of the restoration of the Jews to their own land from captivity,[73] and in Philo it designates the restoration of inheritances at the Jubilee.[74] The key to its meaning in Acts, however, is to be found in those instances in the Septuagint and the New Testament where the cognate verb ἀποκαθιστάνειν appears. Several of these contexts are distinctly eschatological, being associated with the concept of Elijah who returns as the forerunner of the Messiah, so that the term ἀποκαθιστάνειν became a technical term for the messianic new creation, and it seems best to interpret the noun in the same sense.[75] On this un-

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[72]E.g. Polyb. iv. 23.1; v.2.11; xxxviii.10.7; Dion. Hal. x.8; Sextus Empiricus, Adv. Astrol. 105. Cf. J. Lepsius, "The Restitution or Apokatastasis," Exp. VIIIth Ser.3 (1912), 158-163, and esp. C. Lenz, "Apokatastasis," RAC I (1950), col. 510-516.

[73]Josephus, Ant. XI, iii, 8, 9.

[74]Philo. Decal. 30, cf. Quis rer. div. heres 293; De Abri. 52.

[75]Cf. A. Oepke, op. cit., 388. "Zugrunde liegt also der dem Judentum gelaeufige Begriff der messianischen Neuschoepfung." O Bauernfeind, Die Apostelgeschichte (1938) ad loc argues that Acts 3:20f. is an expectation about Elijah which has been transferred to Jesus.

derstanding, ἀποκατάστασις πάντων is a descriptive term for the consummation, while the plural in χρόνοι merely indicates duration.[76]

It is possible, however, to define this period more precisely, for the passage makes it clear that the establishment of all that God spoke through the prophets is co-terminous with the parousia of Messiah appointed for Israel, who is identified as Jesus. Repentance and conversion on the part of the House of Israel will bring both participation in the Spirit with its refreshment, and will in some sense condition the parousia of the Messiah.[77] But until (ἄχρι) the establishment of all that God spoke through the prophets heaven must receive the Messiah. It is the figure of the Messiah who lends distinctive coloring to the period of the consummation in this passage. The final period is viewed as the Days of the Messiah. In keeping with this understanding Jesus in not designated as the Messiah in the main body of the speech.[78] While he is presented as a messianic figure under

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[76]Cf. C. C. Torrey, op. cit., 29, "The plural in καιροί and χρόνοι indicates duration, as in the original Aramaic."

[77]See above pp.126-131. It is possible to understand the text to mean that the failure of Israel to repent holds back the times of refreshment from the Jerusalem Community as well as from the unrepentant nation. On this understanding the times of refreshment will be introduced with the parousia of the Messiah. This alternative appears unlikely, however, if our interpretation of ἀνάψυξις is correct.

[78]The one apparent exception to this is vs.18, ὁ δὲ

the terms "servant" or "prophet," he is not presented as Messiah, for that title implied an element of sovereignty which would not be displayed until the parousia. Jesus had unveiled himself only partially in His ministry. To those who had eyes to see he was the honored Servant of the Lord, and the Mosaic eschatological prophet.[79] But in the Days of the Messiah all would behold him as the Anointed One, appointed as Sovereign for Israel.[80]

On this interpretation the structure of the passage demands that a distinction be made between "the times of refreshment" and "the times of establishment of all things." The word ἀποκατάστασις contemplates a fundamental trans-

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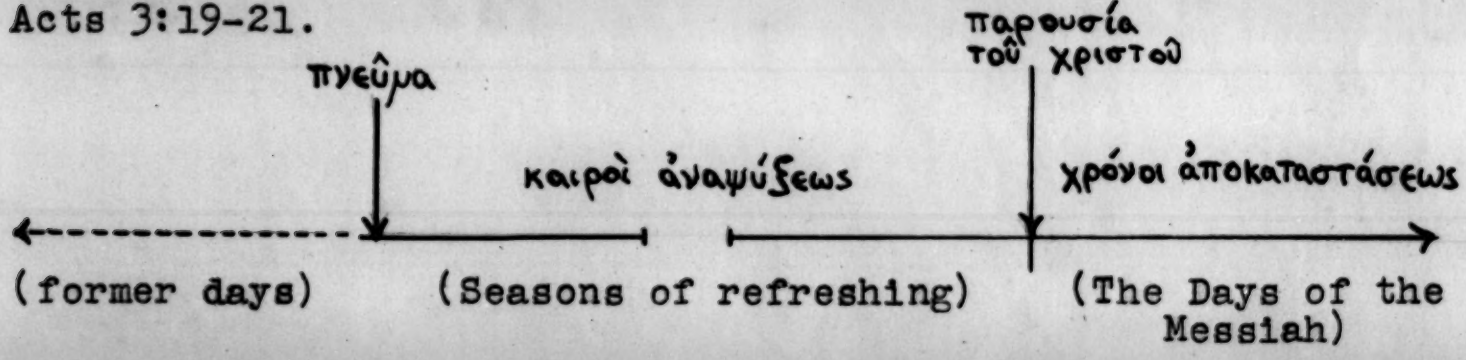
θεὸς δὲ προκατήγγειλεν διὰ στόματος πάντων τῶν προφητῶν παθεῖν τὸν χριστὸν αὐτοῦ, ἐπλήρωσεν οὕτως. In the light of the careful distinction between Jesus as Servant and Prophet elsewhere in the speech, it is best to interpret this instance either in terms of messias designatus, or as anticipating Jesus in terms of his character as Messiah at the parousia, as in v. 20.

[79]For Jesus as Servant of the Lord see above, pp. 108-126. For the characterization as the prophet like Moses see esp. H. M. Teeple, The Mosaic Eschatological Prophet (1957); cf. D. M. Stanley, op. cit., 243f. J. Schmitt, "L'Église de Jérusalem ou la 'restauration d'Israël d'après les cinq premiers chapitres des Actes," RScR 27 (1953), 209-268, has called attention to influence of Deuteronomy, "the law of the ideal Israel in eschatological times," on the first five chapters of Acts.

[80]Wilder, op. cit., 316-18, and Lake and Cadbury, BC IV (1933), 155, suggest with caution that Acts 3:19f. contains a disguised form of Son of Man Christology. Lacking any distinctive hint of this is the text, this seems unlikely in the light of the importance of the concept of the Days of the Messiah in contemporary Jewish thinking.

formation, while the terms καιροὶ ἀναψύξεως envisages the fulfilment of an old order. The fact that the parousia of Jesus is mentioned between the times of refreshment and the establishment of all that God spoke through the prophets confirms this view, and supports the contention that the refreshment and the establishment are two distinct periods in the early Christian understanding of the eschatological time-table. This distinction is essential for a correct understanding of this difficult passage. The passage speaks of two periods, both of which may be viewed as eschatological in nature. The first is the times of refreshment into which the Community has already entered through the general bestowal of the Holy Spirit, a period in which the consummation manifests itself in an anticipatory way. The second is the consummation itself which is viewed in terms of the Days of the Messiah. From an early expectation that the resurrection of Jesus and the announced out-pouring of Holy Spirit signaled the consummation itself the Community moved to a new understanding which made provision for their current experience of having received the Spirit but not the expected consummation. That the powers of the age to come had broken into the present age was clear, but it was equally clear that the present age had not yet passed away. There was a dimension in the eschatological time-table in which in some sense the two ages overlapped. To express this overlapping the Jeru-

salem Community spoke of the times of refreshment, periodizing the traditional hope of the age to come. This understanding called for a three-fold structure to replace the traditional two-age structure which made no provision for the times of refreshment. This modification affords a fundamental insight into the primitive Christian understanding of the eschatological time-table, and is significant for showing how the consciousness of possessing the Spirit forced the community to periodized traditional eschatological hopes. If the nebulous concept of "the former days" be supplied from the traditional time-table, the following pattern emerges from Acts 3:19-21.



The relative degree of distinctiveness in this understanding becomes clear when it is remembered that the one Rabbinic statement which has been preserved which speaks of a time of refreshment makes that time a constituitive element in the age to come, the consummation.[81] By distinguishing

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[81]See above pp.172-175. Gerhardsson, op. cit., 260f., has called attention to the phraseology with which the solemn pronouncement of the Jerusalem Council is made, "The Holy Spirit and we have decided . . . ," as evidence of the well-developed self-consciousness of the early Church. Rabbinic tradition knew only three courts on which the Shekinah rested,

between the καιροὶ ἀναψύξεως and the χρόνοι ἀποκαταστάσεως and by defining the καιροὶ ἀναψύξεως in terms of full participation by the Community in the Holy Spirit the primitive Christian Community displayed a relatively higher degree of messianic anticipation in terms of the eschatological time-table than was expressed in contemporary Judaism. The periodization of the traditional time-table was a reflection of the self-consciousness of being the messianic community created by the Spirit of God.

Excursus. I Tim. 4:1-3

The necessity of distinguishing between the "times of refreshment" and "times of establishment of all things" suggests a fresh interpretation of I Tim. 4:1-3. The passage concerns a past prophecy about a later crisis which is being fulfilled at the time of the writing of the letter.[82] The defections which were prophesied have already begun to take

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and all were placed in Old Testament times [see M. Guttmann, Zur Einleitung in die Halacha I (1909), p. 36].

[82]Cf. C. Spicq, Les Epîtres Pastorales (1947), 136: "La prophetie vise les derniers temps, non pas necessairement un avenir lointain, mais la période qui sépare les deux avènements du Christ, et dans la pensée de saint Paul le danger est actuel, il commence à se manifester." A comparison with II Tim. 3:1, a passage very similar in tone to this one, suggests that there is no great distinction between ὑστέροις καιροῖς and ἐσχάταις ἡμέραις. For the use of the former expression in this sense cf. Acta Carpi 5, Χριστὸν . . . τὸν ἐλθόντα ἐν ὑστέροις καιροῖς ἐπὶ σωτηρίᾳ ἡμῶν.

place.[83] Men have arisen within the congregation forbidding marraige (κωλυόντων γαμεῖν) and commanding abstinence from meats (ἀπέχεσθαι βρωμάτων), both of which had their origin in the creation ordinances of God.[84] One explanation for this aberration in early Christian doctrine has been found in a reaction, understandable but dangerous, to contemporary pagan debauchery which had its origin in a dualism which considered matter inherently evil.[85] A more common explanation, however, links the proscriptions of the false teachers with an erroneous conception of the resurrection. II Tim. 2:18

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[83] Cf. I Tim. 1:6, 19.

[84] These proscriptions, in one form or another, can be found in pagan philosophies and cults (cf. A. J. Festugière, L'idéal religieux des Grecs et l'Évangile 1932, 298), as well as in Jewish fringe movements (cf. ὑπεροψία γάμου of the Essenes, Jos. B.J. II.8.2; Philo, Vita Contempl. 4). After the destruction of the Second Temple a wave of similar ascetic practices necessitated Rabbinic attention Tos. Soṭa XV. 11ff. (ed. Zuckermandle, 322); Baba Bathra 60b (Bar.). They were common in Jewish and Gnostic Christianity of the second century. On the former cf. Iren., adv. Haer. I, xxxviii describing the Encratites, possibly with I Tim. 4: 1-3 in mind: ἀγαμίαν ἐκήρυξαν ἀθετοῦντες τὴν πλάσιν τοῦ θεοῦ . . . καὶ τῶν λεγομένων παρ' αὐτοῖς ἐμψύχων ἀπόχην εἰσηγήσαντο ἀχαριστοῦντες τῷ πάντα πεποιηκότι θεῷ . . . ; I. xxiv. 2 "nubere et generare a Satana dicunt esse. Multi autem . . . et ab animalibus abstinent, per fictam hujusmodi continentiam seducentes multos." Cf. Acta Pauli et Theclae 12; Apost. Canon 51, 53 et al. For Gnostic Christianity see below, n.87.

[85] So Spicq, op. cit., 137, "Ces prohibitions doivent avoir été conçues en réaction contre la débauche païenne et en fonction d'une philosophie dualiste considérant la matière comme mauvaise;" p.355, "Il est bien préférable de rapprocher cette hérésie des conceptions païennes contemporaines considérant la culture intellectuelle comme une religion, une piété. . . . " E. F. Scott, The Pastoral Epistles (1947), 138-140.

states that Hymenaios and Philetos were teaching that the resurrection was already past, ἀνάστασιν ἤδη γεγονέναι. This is usually understood to mean that they confused the resurrection of the body with that mystical resurrection to new life which is accomplished in Christian baptism.[86] There is impressive evidence that such a confusion was actually entertained by later Christians,[87] and it seems probable that it was this confusion which led to the insistence upon the resurrection of the flesh (σαρκὸς ἀνάστασιν) in the early Christian creeds.[88] But this is not the only interpretation to which the passage is open, and there is second century evidence for other aberrations concerning resurrection which throw doubt on the validity of identifying earlier teaching by reference to one facet of later doctrine.[89] The state-

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[86]So Spicq, op. cit., 354f. on II Tim. 2:18; W. Lock, The Pastoral Epistles (1924), 99; E. W. Brown, The Pastoral Epistles (1917), 71, among others, based on Rom. 6:1-11; Eph. 2:6; 5:14; Col. 2:12; 3:1. Cf. Scott, op. cit., 56.

[87]Cf. Iren., adv. haer. I. xxiii.5, of the Samaritan Menander, a disciple of Simon Magus; Cf. Justin, Apol. I. 26. ; Hippolytus, Philosophoumena vii.36, of Nicolas, the proselyte of Antioch; Justin, Dial.80; Tertullian, de Anima 50, of Marcion. Minuscius Felix, Octav.11, comments, "By a peculiar blindness they add faith to that which they have invented. You would think, to listen to them, that they were already resurrected!"

[88]H. B. Swete, "The Resurrection of the Flesh," JTS 16 (1917), 135-141.

[89]Some flatly denied the resurrection of the body; cf. Iren. adv. haer. II. xxxi. 2 of Simon and Carporates; Tert., de res. carnis 19. A quite different explanation was

ments in I Tim. 4:1-3 are most intelligible on the assumption that Hymenaios and Philetos taught that by virtue of the resurrection of Jesus the Christian Community had been projected into the age to come. The resurrection lay in the past, and therefore Jesus' statement that in the resurrection men neither marry nor give their children in marriage demanded that marriage cease.[90] The prohibition against meats is understandable on the same basis. Had not the Risen Jesus indicated by His own example that the food to be taken after the Resurrection was fish or honey-comb?[91] Further appeal could be made to Paul's dictum that the Kingdom of God was not meat and drink.[92] The assertion that the Resurrection is already accomplished presupposes the conception of the Age to come when death is abolished and the qualities of resurrection life are in force. That this is precisely what

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that men do not rise at all, but only live on through their children: cf. Acta Pauli et Theclae 14, ἤδη γέγονεν ἀνάστασις ἐφ' οἷς ἔχομεν τέκνοις , and the patristic citations in Lock, op. cit., p. 100. This view had Jewish precedent : cf. Sir. 11:28; 30:1ff.

[90] Matt. 22:30.

[91] Lk. 24:42f. οἱ δὲ ἐπέδωκαν αὐτῷ ἰχθύος ὀπτοῦ μέρος [+ καὶ ἀπὸ μελισσίου κηρίον , Ε K M N Χ Δ Θ min. latt syrc pesh philox. aeg arm Justin] καὶ λαβὼν ἐνώπιον αὐτῶν ἔφαγεν [+ καὶ τὰ ἐπίλοιπα ἔδωκεν αὐτοῖς, K Θ Π min. c r vg syrc philox. hier. arm aeth]. Cf. Jn. 21:9-14; Acts 10:41.

[92] Rom. 14:17, where βρῶσις corresponds to the βρῶμα of I Tim. 4:3.

lies behind the thinking of the false teachers is suggested by the insistence in I Tim. 4:8 that "godliness is profitable in every way, having promise of the life which now is and of that which is to come (ἐπαγγελίαν ἔχουσα ζωῆς τῆς νῦν καὶ τῆς μελλούσης)." The italicized words contain the key to the entire passage, for they make the distinction between the present experience of the Christian Community and that experience after the parousia of which the present is only a foretaste. That this distinction was of paramount importance to the Apostle is clear from the word of approval which he immediately adds, πιστὸς ὁ λόγος καὶ πάσης ἀποδοχῆς ἄξιος[93] as well as from his repeated reference to the distinctness of the promised eternal life from the present experience.[94] It was this distinction which the false teachers failed to make. They claimed that the former age, with its ways of life, had completely passed away. The resurrection of Jesus was the Resurrection which had thrust the Community into the new age to come. In short, it was not a failure to distinguish the spiritual resurrection experienced at baptism from the resurrection of the body which the Apostle castigates in the context of I Tim. 4:1-3, but rather the failure to distinguish the present times of refreshment from the future establishment of all things which God had promised through the prophets. This failure accounts for their doctrine and pro-

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[93] I Tim. 4:9. [94] Cf. II Tim. 1:1; Tit. 1:2.

vides an early instance of over-realized eschatology within the early Church which may have significant light to shed on the problem of those Corinthians who denied the resurrection, not of Jesus, but of Christians, and of the Thessalonians who were concerned for those Christians who had died before the parousia.[95]

C. The Freer Logion

Evidence for a distinct periodization of the traditional eschatological hope has been preserved in the Greek text of the Freer Logion, a portion of which had been known through a Latin citation by Jerome. Jerome commented that,

> in certain exemplars and especially in the Greek manuscripts [of the Gospels] according to Mark, at the end of his Gospel, there is written: "Afterward, when the Eleven reclined at meal, Jesus appeared to them and upbraided [them with] their unbelief and hardness of heart because they had not believed those who had seen Him after His resurrection. And they made excuse, saying: 'This age of iniquity and unbelief is under Satan who, through unclean spirits, does not permit the true power of God to be apprehended. Therefore, reveal your righteousness, now.'"[96]

The Greek text of this fragment was unknown until 1906 when

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[95] I Cor. 15:12-19; I Thess. 4:13-18.

[96] Dial. advers. Pelag. II.15 (P.L. XXIII, col. 576): "In quibusdam exemplaribus et maxime in Graecis codicibus juxta Marcum in fine eius evangelii scribitur Postea eum accubuissent undecim apparuit eis Jesus et exprobravit incredulitatem et duritiam cordis eorum, quia his qui viderant eum resurgentem non crediderunt. et illi satisfaciebant dicentes Saeculum istud iniquitatis et incredulitatis sub Satana est, qui non sinit per immundos spiritus veram Dei apprehendi virtutem. idcirco iam nunc revela justitiam tuam."

it was furnished in a more complete form by a fifth century uncial manuscript of the Gospels discovered in Egypt.[97] Appended to Mark 16:14 were sixteen lines of text containing the portion preserved by Jerome together with the answer of Jesus to the disciple's appeal for an immediate parousia. The entire addition is a self-contained fragment of conversation which has been added to the longer ending of Mark, apparently as a gloss.[98] Its occurrence in a single Greek

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[97] Codex W, folio 184 recto, lines 9-24. For a photographic facsimile of the text see B. Botte, "Freer (Logion de)," DB Suppl III (1938), 528, fig. 351. On p. 525, Botte transcribes the text together with the principal conjectural emendations which have been proposed.

[98] The stichwort which first attracted the gloss appears to be ἀπιστία in Mark 16:14, καὶ ὠνείδισεν τὴν ἀπιστίαν αὐτῶν . . . κακεῖνοι ἀπελογοῦντο λέγοντες ὅτι ὁ αἰὼν οὗτος τῆς ἀνομίας καὶ τῆς ἀπιστίας . . . . The opinion that the Freer Logion is a gloss has been challenged on the ground that without the logion the account in the longer ending passes very abruptly from reproof of the disciples' unbelief to the commission to proclaim the Gospel to the entire world. The logion appears to supply the necessary point of transition appropriate to the context [so T. Zahn, Geschichte des neutestamentlichen Kanons II (1896), 936; Einleitung in das Neue Testament II (1900), 229, on the basis of Jerome's citation alone; H. B. Swete, Zwei neue Evangelienfragmente (1908), 10, appealing to the ease with which such an obscure passage could be excised]. The more moderate conclusion that the passage is a gloss derived from the same source which supplied vv.14-18 to the longer ending of Mark, but which the original compiler of the longer ending had neglected, was suggested by A. Harnack, "Neues zum unechten Marcusschluss," ThLZ 33 (1908), 168-170, and accepted with slight modification by H. Koch, "Der erweiterte Markusschluss und die kleinasiatischen Presbyter," BZ 6 (1908), 266-278, and P. van Kasteren, "Het slot van het Marcusevangelie," Studien 86 (1916), 283-296; Idem, "Nog een woord over het Marcusslot," Studien 87 (1917), 484-490. Basic to this proposal is the original contention of Zahn that the Freer Logion fills the hiatus be-

manuscript suggests that it embodies a purely local variant, and that it is best to treat it as an isolated logion.[99]

It is the answer of Jesus to the disciples which calls attention to itself for its deliberate periodization of a more traditional eschatological scheme:

> And the Messiah said to them that the limit of the years of the authority of Satan has been fulfilled, but other terrible things are drawing near. And on behalf of those who have sinned, I was delivered to death, in order that they might turn to the truth and sin no more, in order that they might inherit the spiritual and incorruptible glory which is in heaven which consists in righteousness.[100]

The key sentence is the striking statement, πεπλήρωται ὁ

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tween Mark 16:14 and 15. Yet closer examination will show that if there is a hiatus between vv.14 and 15 in the longer ending, it is poorly overcome by this logion. The words of the disciples are scarcely directed to the charge of incredulity, but rather reflect on the difficulties they have encountered in their preaching, and the unfortunate manner in which these words have been attached to the rebuke of Jesus is sufficient to betray an interpolation. It should be further noted that the hiatus is no less great between the response of Jesus in the logion and Mark 16:15. The addition is an isolated logion embodying a local tradition which probably owes its existence in the Freer MS to the intercalation of the text of the longer ending of Mark by some early reader of the gospel, whose attention was caught by the charge of ἀπιστίας. The contention that the entire text of the logion is a gloss is accepted by more recent commentators, e.g. B. Botte, op. cit., 526f.; A. E. J. Rawlingson, St. Mark[5] (1942), 248; V. Taylor, The Gospel according to St. Mark (1952), 615.

[99] Botte, op. cit., 526f.

[100] καὶ ὁ χριστὸς ἐκείνοις προσέλεγεν ὅτι πεπλήρωται ὁ ὅρος τῶν ἐτῶν τῆς ἐξουσίας τοῦ σατανᾶ, ἀλλὰ ἐγγίζει ἄλλα δεῖνα· καὶ ὑπὲρ ὧν ἐγὼ ἁμαρτησάντων παρέδοθη εἰς θάνατον, ἵνα ὑποστρέψωσιν εἰς τὴν ἀλήθειαν καὶ μηκέτι ἁμαρτήσωσιν, ἵνα τὴν ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ πνευματικὴν καὶ ἄφθαρτον τῆς δικαιοσύνης δόξαν κληρονομήσωσιν.

ὅρος τῶν ἐτῶν τῆς ἐξουσίας τοῦ σατανᾶ, ἀλλὰ ἐγγίζει ἄλλα δεῖνα. The disciples had complained that this age, ὁ αἰὼν οὗτος, characterized by lawlessness[101] and unbelief, is under Satanic control.[102] Their proclamation of the truth had met both indifference and hostility. But in the age to come, ὁ αἰὼν ὁ ἐρχόμενος, when Satan's power has been broken, the truth will be recognized for what it is. That is why they ask for an immediate parousia, διὰ τοῦτο ἀποκάλυψόν σου τὴν δικαιοσύνην ἤδη.[103] They assume that the two-age structure is the correct one, and it is this assumption which governs their thinking concerning their present experience

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[101]The judgment on the evil character of this age is thoroughly Palestinian: cf. I Enoch. 48:7, "This age of unrighteousness," II Enoch 66:6, "this age of pain;" cf. Gal.1:4, "this present evil age." For ἀνομίας in the last days cf. Matt. 24:12; Didache 16:4; Hermas 8:3 and especially Barnabas 18:2, ὁ καιρὸς ὁ νῦν τῆς ἀνομίας, which closely parallels the Freer Logion.

[102]Note the exact expression, "the authority of Satan" in Acts 26:18, ἀνοῖξαι ὀφθαλμοὺς αὐτῶν, τοῦ ἐπιστρέψαι ἀπὸ σκότους εἰς φῶς καὶ τῆς ἐξουσίας τοῦ σατανᾶ ἐπὶ τὸν θεόν. . . . Cf. Col. 1:13; Eph. 2:2; Lk. 4:6, 22:53; Rev. 13:2, 4, 5, 7, 12. See further, W. Foerster, art., ἐξουσία, TWNT II (1935), 564f. (c3).

[103]The appeal appears to be for the revelation of God's righteous judgment through the parousia of Christ, as in Acts 17:31; Rev. 19:11. So G. Schrenk, art., δικαιοσύνη, TWNT II. (1935), 199f. For the association of righteousness with the Messiah see G. Schrenk, "Der Messias als der Gerechte," TWNT II (1935), 188f., and the passages cited there. The second occurrence of the term δικαιοσύνη, has a more distinctly Pauline character, "the glory to be inherited, which consists of righteousness." In this instance the term "righteousness" approximates in meaning "salvation." See Schrenk, op. cit., 211, n.58.

and their desire for the parousia.[104]

Jesus' answer cuts across their thinking and modifies it in a significant manner. He states that the limit of the years in which Satan was allowed to exercise authority have already come to an end.[105] But that does not mean that the age to come will immediately break into the time structure, bringing the current age to a close. On the contrary, the Messiah states, other terrible things, ἄλλα δεῖνα , are drawing near. The term δεῖνα does not occur elsewhere in the New Testament, but in the Apostolic Fathers it is found with the meaning "fearful" or "terrible" in association with punishment or torture.[106] In the Septuagint it occurs infrequently to describe deep personal anguish,[107] the terrible wrath of wild beasts or men,[108] or the severity of affliction

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[104]This frame of mind was by no means unusual. It stands behind the implied request for an immediate restoration of the kingdom in Acts 1:6, where the ἐν τῷ χρόνῳ τούτῳ corresponds to the ἤδη of the Freer Logion; while in the early second century the author of Barnabas longs for that time "when there is no longer lawlessness, but all things have been made new by the Lord." (Barn. 15:7).

[105]The closest parallel to πεπλήρωται ὁ ὅρος τῶν ἐτῶν is Mark 1:5, πεπλήρωται ὁ καιρός . See other examples cited in W. Bauer, Woerterbuch, πληρόω 2, col.1222 (Arndt-Gingrich, 677). With the thought cf. Jn. 16:10, ὁ ἄρχων τοῦ κόσμου κέκριται.

[106]I Clem. 6:2; II Clem. 17:7; M. Polyc. 2:4; Hermas, sim, 6, 3, 3.

[107]II Kings 1:9 (שבע); Job. 2:13 (גדל); 33:15 (תרדמה) Wisd. 18:17 א״ת , Sir. 38:16 (the Greek text presupposes במתמרר; Hebrew text, התמרר); cf. Jer. 16:17 Theod.; Jos., Ant. I.viii.1.

[108]Wisd. 11:18; 12:9; 16:5; IV Macc. 4:15.

or torture imposed upon men.[109] The two most interesting occurrences of the word are found in the Wisdom of Solomon. In a context of judgment, the writer depicts the experience of the ungodly in the last day:

> When the ungodly shall come,
> When their deeds are reckoned up, with cowardly fear;
> And their lawless deeds shall convict them to their face,
> Then the righteous man shall stand in great boldness
> Before the face of them who afflicted him,
> Even those who reckoned his labors to be of no account.
> When they see this, they shall be troubled with terrible fear (ἰδόντες ταραχθήσονται φόβῳ δεινῷ)
> And they shall be amazed at his salvation.[110]

Here the term δεινός is coupled with φόβος , as it is in Job 33:15, to describe the terrible fear that grips a man in anticipation of what is about to befall him. Δεινός is merely a prelude to judgment. It is with this connotation that the author uses the term later in his account to describe the dreams which troubled the Egyptians on the Passover night. Prior to the striking of the first-born by the Angel of Death the sleep of the Egyptians was disturbed by "apparitions in terrible dreams, φαντασίαι μὲν ὀνείρων δεινῶν ," (18:17). The terrible things they saw, δεῖνα, were an anticipation of the coming judgment. It is precisely in this sense that it seems best to interpret δεῖνα in the Freer Logion; the term describes the fearful events which precede the judgment which

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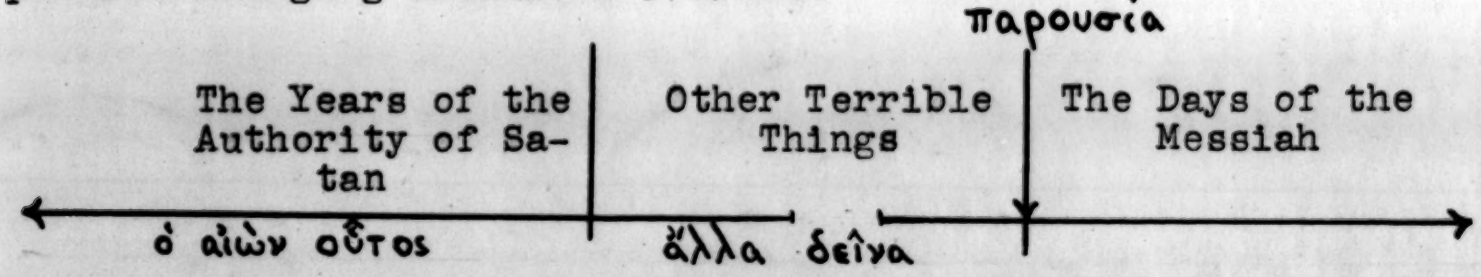
[109] Wisd. 19:16; IV Macc. 8:9, 15; 15:25.

[110] Wisd. 4:20-5:2.

is an accompaniment of the parousia of the Christ. Τὰ δεῖνα furnish a prelude to that judgment.[111] The concept is a distinctly Palestinian-Jewish one, which is referred to frequently in the Rabbinic materials as "the birth-pangs of the Messiah."[112] Fearful persecutions and catastrophic reversals in men and nature precede the coming of the Days of the Messiah. If this interpretation of δεῖνα is correct, the scheme of eschatological expectation reflected in the words of the Christ is intelligible, and may be graphed on the pattern emerging from Acts 3:19-21.



The twofold structure of this-age and the age-to-come has been periodized to provide for a factor the disciples had not anticipated, the δεῖνα preceding the Days of the Messiah.[113]

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[111] In this connection the thesis of Koch, op. cit., 266-78, is interesting: he contends that the Logion is incomplete, for after having alluded to his role as the Savior Jesus must, according to the context, have announced as well his role as judge. The context, however, would lead one to expect an explanation of what the δεῖνα were, in the manner of Mark 13:6 and par.; M. Soṭa IX.15; b. Sanh. 98b, et al.

[112] חבלי המשיח, cf. Matt. 24:8, πάντα δὲ ταῦτα ἀρχὴ ὠδίνων. See further, E. Schuerer, Geschichte[3] II (1898), 522-556, Str-B IV:2 (1928), 977-986, "Die Vorzeichen der messianischen Zeit." For a concise description L. Dennefeld, "Messianisne," DThC X[2] (1929), col. 1529.

[113] The closest parallel to the thought, but not the

The analogous character of the structure of the Freer Logion, with its threefold periodization, to the structure of Acts 3:19-21 is striking. The disciples plea for the parousia of ὁ χριστός, that is, for that period of time when the Messiah will display his vindicated righteousness. They recognize Jesus as the Messiah, but the world does not. "Therefore, reveal thy righteousness, now!" But as in Acts 3:19-21, the answer given is that the time for such a revelation has not yet come, and in both passages provision is built in for delay. But what is more significant, perhaps, is the fact that both passages envision the final period to be distinctly the Days of the Messiah. This is clearly stated in Acts 3:19-21, while in the Freer Logion it is demanded by the use of the title ὁ χριστός as well as by the interpretation which has been placed on δεῖνα. It is interesting to notice as well the importance placed by both passages on repentance as a conditioning cause of the in-breaking of the Messianic era. The implication that the Days of the Messiah cannot come without the repentance of a significant community of people is suggested in the Freer Logion as strongly as it

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vocabulary, of the Freer Logion at this point appears to be Barn. 4:9: "Wherefore let us pay heed in the last days, for the whole time of our life and faith will profit us nothing unless we resist, as becomes sons of God in this present lawless time and in the offences which are about to come (νῦν ἐν τῷ ἀνόμῳ καιρῷ καὶ τοῖς μέλλουσιν σκανδάλοις), so that the Black One (ὁ μέλας) may have no opportunity of entry."

is in Acts 3:19-21. Other terrible things come upon those for whom the Messiah died for the purpose of forcing them to that repentance which brings the Messianic era, together with its glory, which constitutes the inheritance of the Messianic Community. That the text will bear the weight of such an interpretation is certain from the coordinating clauses introduced by the conjunction of purpose, ἵνα:

ἄλλα δεῖνα· καὶ ὑπὲρ ὧν ἐγὼ ἁμαρτήσωσιν παρεδόθη εἰς θάνατον, ἵνα ὑποστρέψωσιν . . . ἵνα . . . κληρονομήσωσιν.

The cluster of primitive ideas which informs Acts 3: 19-21 recurs in the Freer Logion, together with some significant differences. The nebulous concept of "the former days" which must be supplied to the Acts passage is here given concrete expression as "the years of the authority of Satan," and it is sharply stated that these years have been fulfilled: they now lie in the past. While the Acts passage reflects upon the refreshment which the Community now experiences through the presence of the Holy Spirit, no attention is paid to this facet of the Community's experience in the Freer Logion. Rather, the age between the former period and the days of the Messiah is telescoped and presented in terms of the dramatic conflicts which usher in the final era, and which affect both the Messianic Community and those without. Finally, the Freer Logion reflects on the experience of the Messianic Community in the Days of the Messiah not in terms

of restoration, but in terms of a heavenly inheritance.[114] The emphases of the Freer Logion are distinct from those found in Acts 3:19-21, but merely sharpen the independence of these two witnesses to a living tradition of periodization of inherited eschatological hopes on the part of the early Palestinian Church.[115]

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[114] Cf., I Pet. 1:4 εἰς κληρονομίαν ἄφθαρτον . . . τετηρημένην ἐν οὐρανοῖς εἰς ὑμᾶς; Bauer, op. cit., 369 suggests Cleopatra, 146f., ἐνέδυσεν αὐτοὺς θείαν δόξαν πνευματικήν in connection with this phrase of the Freer Logion.

[115] It is difficult to assess the relative primitiveness of the Freer Logion. Apparently only T. Zahn, Einleitung II, 229; H. B. Swete, op. cit., 10; and R. Dunkerley, The Unwritten Gospel (1925), 197, were willing to plead for the authenticity of the logion. It is my opinion that it is not authentic, but reflects the thinking of the Community; nevertheless its relatively early character is reflected in its Palestinian language, its emphasis on the significance of repentance as a condition for the days of the Messiah, its use of ὁ χριστός as a title of office, and its particular expression of the periodization, which is without parallel in the extant literature. As to the date when the Logion was added to the margin of a MS of Mark, any guess is hazardous. C. R. Gregory, Das Freerlogion (1908) 64f., suggested the first half of the second century as most probable on the basis of the style and vocabulary of the fragment and because after 150 A.D. it became increasingly difficult to make additions to the Scripture. Zahn, op. cit., 230-232, followed by Harnack and Koch alleged that the source of the logion (as well as of vv.14-18 for Zahn), was the traditions Papias had received from the Asiatic Presbyter Aristion. Zahn cites as confirmatory evidence a marginal gloss to Rufinus' translation of Eus., H. E. iii. 39.9 which connects Aristion's name with the story taken by Eusebius from Papias, that Justus, surnamed Barsabbas (Acts 1:23), once drank a deadly poison, but was preserved from all harmful effects by the grace of the Lord. The story may have been circulated as an illustration of Mark 16:18, but as proof for the source of the Freer Logion it lacks persuasive demonstration.

D. Acts 17:30-31

Both Acts 3:19-21 and the Freer Logion present evidence for periodization of an inherited eschatological hope in a Palestinian frame of reference which would be most intelligible to an audience with a Jewish heritage. Where Hellenism furnished the cultural heritage the intelligibility of a Jewish frame of reference could not be assumed, and the significance of the periodization of traditional Jewish eschatological convictions could be easily lost. In the Areopagus address of the Apostle Paul, however, Luke has incorporated an instance of periodization which is instructive precisely because it is directed to a Hellenistic audience.

In the course of a speech designed to show the uselessness and vanity in the Athenian conception of God and His worship, God is presented as the one living God who both initiates and consummates history, and who throughout its course shows Himself to be the Lord of history (Acts 17:22-31). Reference to the Creation and to the Last Judgment form the beginning and end of the speech. Between these points, a definite historical course is enacted which is intimately tied to the divine plan of salvation. The claim by God to be the one God is based upon the act of Creation. Because He is the Creator, the entire world is brought under His rule (v.24). In the sphere of nature His rule manifests itself in the preservation of His creation. In the sphere of men, over

whom He is Sovereign by the same act of Creation, God exerts His rule by determining where and when the nations shall live. All nations are descended from the one man whom God created, and the destinies of these different nations are revealed in historical periods which God has appointed (v.26). Now, in the course of history, a new and determinative period has been marked off by the revelation in Jesus Christ which has placed under judgment the time preceding this revelation (vv.30f.). The time preceding this period is qualified by the epithet "ignorance." God had revealed Himself in nature and in history, but man, groping blindly in ignorance and failing to perceive that revelation, rejected the Creator and Preserver of life for a conception of God which led him directly to massive idolatry. God did not intervene in that former period to correct man's faulty attitude by special revelation, but now He has done so. A new period has begun with the proclamation of the gospel, bringing the former epoch to judgment. God Himself is the one who has signaled this rupture with the former course of His dealing with the Gentiles by causing to rise from the dead the Man He has appointed to be Judge of the World. This, in brief, is the substance of the Areopagus address.

Two passages in particular are important for their bearing upon the presentation of God as the Lord of history, a presentation which furnishes the background to the periodi-

zation found in vv.30f. The first passage is v.26:

> And He made from one every nation of men to live on all the face of the earth, having determined allotted periods and boundaries of their habitation.

The reference in the words προστεταγμένους καιρούς to the course of history serves a definite polemic purpose in the framework of the speech. The fact that God has created the nations to inhabit the whole earth, and has appointed historical periods for the life of the nations, setting bounds to their habitation, testifies that God is a living God who acts in determining the destinies of the nations.[116] It is essential to a correct understanding of the passage, therefore, that προστεταγμένους καιρούς be understood in the sense of allotted historical periods.[117] This interpretation is

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[116] B. Gaertner, The Areopagus Speech and Natural Revelation (1955), 146f., 175-77.

[117] This must be stressed in the light of the repeated assertion that καιρούς should be interpreted as "the seasons." Support for this contention is found in the phrase καιροὺς καρποφόρους in the Lystra speech (14:17). Since the speech at Lystra furnishes the closest parallel to the Areopagus address this explanation appears to have force. Cf. H. H. Wendt, Die Apostelgeschichte (1913), 258; O. Bauernfeind, op. cit., 218; M. Dibelius, "Paulus auf dem Areopag," Aufsaetze zur Apostelgeschichte (1951), 32; W. Eltester, "Gott und die Natur in der Areopagrede," Neutestamentliche Studien fuer Rudolph Bultmann (1954), 206ff. among others. Dibelius, 32ff., sees in this connection reference to a special argument for the existence of God, based on the organization of the seasons and inhabited zones of the earth, which Cicero had adduced (Tusc. Disp. 1:68f.). Rejecting the view that προστεταγμένους καιρούς refers to the course of history, Dibelius finds support for a philosophical interpretation of the speech in postulating the presence of an argument for the existence of God. The difficulties raised by such an inter-

supported not only by the primary meaning of καιροί as "periods of time" but also by the context itself. God's revelation in nature has been dealt with in v.24, so that there was no need for a reiterated mention of one portion of nature's witness, namely the seasons, in conjunction with the habitation of the nations in v.26. The whole of v.26, and not only certain parts, refers to the life of the nations. The verse begins by describing how mankind has inhabited the

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pretation, however, have been pointed out by M. Pohlenz, "Paulus und die Stoa," ZNW 42 (1949), 86f. Pohlenz contends that the meaning in καιρούς in Acts 14:17 is determined by the qualifying word καρποφόρους, but that καιρούς cannot mean "the seasons" without such determination. The term for "the seasons" is ὧραι, and it is significant that the passages Dibelius cites have ὧραι, or if καιροί is used it is the context which lends to it its peculiar meaning. Pohlenz remarks: "In der Areopagrede haette ein Leser den Ausdruck καιρούς προστεταγμένους ebensowenig wie προθεσίας ohne Dibelius' Kommentar in dessen Sinne verstehen koennen." Καιροί, however, can mean "the seasons," but this is very unusual. G. Delling, art., καιρός, TWNT III (1938), 459 records two inscriptions with this meaning (CIG V. 2, 169; XIV, 1018, 3: in the first instance, however, the word refers to the months of the year). Gen. 1:14 LXX is also cited in this sense, but the times mentioned there refer rather to the course of the moon and of the sun, and the periods of time which depend upon them. In Opif. 59 Philo interprets καιροί in Gen. 1:14 as "the seasons;" he himself, however, does not use this word to indicate the seasons, but ὧραι, which is his usual term for the seasons (e.g. Spec. Leg. I:210). It is perhaps significant that when Dio Chrysostomus takes up the same thought as Cicero as to the arrangement of the seasons the term he uses is not καιροί but ὧραι, Or. 12:32. The meaning "historical epochs" for καιρούς in Acts 17:26 is supported by Delling, op. cit., 463; E. Norden, Agnostos Theos, (1913), 28 (Norden relegates the expression to the well-known quotations or paraphrases of OT texts in the speech); E. Stauffer, Die Theologie des Neuen Testaments (1948), 60f.; B. Gaertner, op. cit., 146-152, 175-177; M. Pohlenz, op. cit., 86f., among others.

whole earth, so that it is most natural to understand the rest of the verse with reference to this habitation. The two terms καιροί and ὁροθεσίαι are correlative, refering respectively to God's decree of time and place for the nations.[118] The context against which the listeners to the speech would judge its meaning would be the practice of the profane writers, who frequently defined the four-world empires partly with regard to territorial extent, partly to their duration, as is done in the speech.[119] Both language and context indicate that the reference is to the revelation character of God's activity in the life of the nations, demonstrating that He is the Lord of history.[120] This forms an important

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[118] Ὁροθεσία is a term taken from the land-surveyor's guild, and means the boundary-line drawn between two inhabited areas. On this term see now H. J. Cadbury, The Book of Acts in History (1955), 36f., citing an inscription from A.D. 100 settling the boundaries of the old Milesian colony of Histria. His discussion there supersedes his earlier article, "Lexical Notes on Luke-Acts. I," JBL 44 (1925), 219ff., where he had argued for a temporal interpretation of the entire clause.

[119] This was shown by W. Schmid, "Die Rede des Apostels Paulus vor dem Philosophen und Areopagiten in Athen," Philologus 95 (1942/43), 103.

[120] This is the closest parallel in the speech to the Jewish conception that the history of the individual nations ran its course in appointed periods of time. It is in this larger Jewish context that Gaertner, op. cit., 148-151, has interpreted the verse. He finds support for this view in the reference to the creation of the nations ἐξ ἑνός : "out of one [man]." "That the speech is based on the OT-Jewish conception of times and boundaries seems obvious from the fact that it carries the origins of mankind back to Adam, for the phrase 'made out of one' refers to Adam and not to other

consideration in the exposition of God's living nature in contradistinction to the impotency of the Athenian idols.

The interest in God as the Lord of history is sustained and in vv.30-31 God's revelational activity in the life of the nations is brought into sharper focus:

> While God did not intervene during the times of ignorance He now proclaims to all men everywhere to repent, because He has fixed a day in which He is about to judge the whole world in righteousness by a Man whom He has appointed, and of this He has given assurance to all men by raising Him from the dead.

These verses constitute the kerygma proper in the Areopagus address. To this point the entire address has been moving. With pregnant phrases the divine plan of salvation is given concise expression without sacrificing its comprehensive scope. History has been divided into two periods by the advent of the revelation in Christ. Those epochs of human history which occurred before that revelation may be grouped together under the comprehensive designation τοὺς χρόνους τῆς ἀγνοίας (v.30). During this period men had access to God's natural revelation but failed to avail themselves of its

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theories as to the genesis of man. It is therefore most correct to interpret the rest of the verse on the same lines," 151. Cf. IV Ezra 3:7, " . . . and from him [Adam] were born nations and tribes, peoples and clans innumerable."

The reading of the Western text προτεταγμένους is preferred by M. Pohlenz and W. Schmid. If this reading is accepted, the significance of God's appointment of the historical periods of the nations is deepened, "the periods before appointed," in accordance with the divine plan of salvation.

truth. This failure, which is attested by the material idolatry everywhere evident in the pagan world of antiquity, is due to ignorance, (ἄγνοια). The term is a significant one, for not only in the New Testament,[121] but in the Septuagint[122]

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[121] In the NT ἄγνοια occurs four times, three of which share the same theological significance. In Eph. 4:17ff., Paul describes the state of the Gentiles outside the revelation of Christ in terms which call to mind Rom. 1:18ff. They live in the vanity of their minds, their understanding darkened, and have strayed from the life which finds its center in God and so yield themselves to sinful living. The reason for this is the ignorance which has blinded their hearts, διὰ τὴν ἄγνοιαν τὴν οὖσαν ἐν αὐτοῖς διὰ τὴν πώρωσιν τῆς καρδίας αὐτῶν. Their state is denoted here by ἄγνοια, and this places it under the dominion of sin. In I Pet. 1:14 ἄγνοια denotes the state of the Christians before their conversion, and in the context the life of ἄγνοια is described as laden with guilt and filled with sin. The third instance, Acts 17:30, must be understood in this same vein, in the light of the demand for repentance and the seriousness of the coming judgment, which are a response to the sinful character of the former time. That the immorality of life associated with material idolatry and such ἄγνοια is not spelled out in the context is due to the demands of the missionary situation. The fourth passage, Acts 3:17 uses ἄγνοια in quite another sense: the Jews killed Jesus because they did not know who He was.

[122] In the LXX ἄγνοια translates five terms, each of which means "sin" or "guilt", e.g. אשם, Gen. 26:10; אשמה, II Chron. 28:13; שגגה, Lev. 5:18; 22:14; פשע Ps. 24:7; עין, Dan. 9:16. The term "trespass offering" is sometimes translated by the circumlocution τὰ ὑπὲρ ἀγνοίας, Ezek. 40:39; 42:13; 44:29; 46:20. In the later books from the Intertestamental period ἁμαρτία and ἄγνοια are found in parallel, as in Sir.23:3, while in 23:2 ἀγνόημα is defined by its parallel ἁμάρτημα. Cf. Dan. (LXX) 4:33a; 6:5, 23; I Ezra (LXX) 8:72. In the Wisd. Sol., 14:22, the state of those who worship idols is qualified as ἀγνοία, while the sinful life which is a consequence of this ἄγνοια is described in a catalogue of vices, anticipating in structure Rom. 1:18-32. Cf. Wisd. 13:1; 14:30; 15:11.

and Intertestamental literature as well,[123] ἄγνοια is intimately associated with the ignorance that is sin. Ἄγνοια was one of the current epithets for denoting the state of the Gentiles, a state in which the cult of the gods and immorality of life were intimately bound together. It is a question not of an intellectual ignorance but of a practical one.[124] It is the fact that upon the former age, with its ignorance, judgment is about to fall that furnishes the urgency to the command to repent. God's attitude toward the times of ignorance had been one of forbearance. He did not intervene with a special revelation to alter that situation.[125] But now, τὰ νῦν , He has done so. The expression τὰ νῦν marks the end of the former era and the inception of the new era

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[123] In addition to the passages cited in n.122 from Sirach and Wisd. Sol. note Test. Judah 19:3; Test. Reuben 1:6; 2:9; cf. Jub. 11:16; 12:3.

[124] It is this practical emphasis which is found in the OT as well, see W. Reiss, "'Gott nicht kennen' im Alten Testament," ZAW 58 (1940/41), 70-98. For a sharp critique of the philosophical interpretation of ἄγνοια see Gaertner, op. cit., 233-237.

[125] Ὑπεροράω is a hapax legomena in the NT, but to judge from the context and its LXXal use it most nearly means not to intervene to change a situation. In the LXX the verb means "condemn, fail," Lev. 26:40; Deut. 21:16; Tob. 4:3; "not care about," Gen. 22:21; Ezek. 7:19; Job. 31:19; Judith 8:20; "not intervene," Deut. 22:4; Ps. 9:22; Isa. 58:7; Wisd. 19:22. Cf. Ps. 81:11f.; 20:26. The Western text of Acts 17:13 reads παροράω which does not alter the sense. The thought of Acts 17:30 is expressed in the Lystra speech as well: "who in generations past allowed all nations to walk in their own ways," Acts 14:16.

inaugurated by the Man of God's choice.[126] The appearance of this Man into the history of mankind is an act of God as decisive and as radical as the initial act of the Creation. This fact is underlined by the parallel between the one man (ἐξ ἑνός), Adam, in v.26, with the Man of God's choice (ἐν ἀνδρί), Jesus, in v.31.[127] The fact of God's appointment of the Man He has chosen for the work of salvation is clear from an act of new creation, the resurrection.[128] With the dawn of the new period signalled by the proclamation of the gospel the former period is brought to judgment, and the only possibility for salvation lies in radical conversion (μετανοεῖν).[129]

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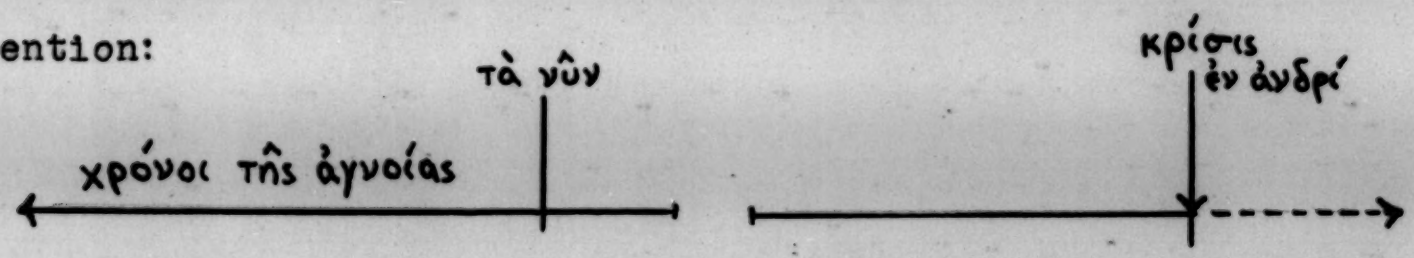
[126] In the NT the word νῦν may denote the beginning of a definite period of time, appointed by God, whether seen as aeons or as periods in the divine plan of salvation. Paul, especially, uses the term in this sense. In passages like Gal. 4:9; Rom. 11:30; Eph. 5:8 νῦν denotes the new age in Christ in contradistinction to the former era. In passages like Rom. 3:26; 16:25f.; Col. 1:26; Eph. 3:5; II Tim. 1:9f. he uses νῦν to indicate the entrance in time of the revelation of Christ, marking the beginning of the new and final period which was inaugurated through Christ. It is in this latter sense that the τὰ νῦν ἀπαγγέλλει of Acts 17:30 should be understood. So G. Staehlin, art., νῦν, TWNT IV (1942), 1099-1112; cf. 1115, "In Ag. 17 steht das νῦν zudem bedeutungsvoll zwichen der Vergangenheit der χρόνος τῆς ἀγνοίας und der Zukunft des Gerichtstags als die entscheidende Gnadenzwischenzeit."

[127] This aspect of the speech is ably treated by Gaertner, op. cit., 151f., 229-232, who calls attention to the fact that as in the geneology of Luke (cf. 3:38), in Acts 17 Adam and Jesus form the two poles, the starting points of the old humanity and the new humanity respectively.

[128] K. L. Schmidt, art., ὁρίζω κ.τ.λ., TWNT V (1954), 453f. Cf. Acts 10:42; Rom. 1:4.

[129] The view of T. Birt, Ἄγνωστοι θεοί und die Are-

The terminology used to present the course of redemptive history has been adapted to the Hellenistic audience to which it was addressed. There is no messianic characterization of the Man whom God has chosen, nor reflection on the period immediately preceding or following the Judgment. These facets of the Christian message would be totally foreign to the audience in view. In the barest terms it is declared that God has now acted decisively through a Man of His choice, and that His action demands a response. While addressed to a Hellenistic audience, a distinctly Jewish-Christian understanding of redemptive history is reflected in the tenor of this speech. Its periodization of history follows naturally from the interest in God as the Lord of history and focuses attention upon the crucial points of God's intervention:



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opagrede des Apostels Paulus," Rhein. Mus. 69 (1914), 372, "dass μεταγοεῖν hier nicht das juedisch-christliche Bereuen und Bussfertigsein, sondern das blosse Korrigieren und Aendern der Lebensauffassung bedeutet, das natuerlich stets mit dem Bedauern ueber den bisherigen Irrtum verbunden ist, lehrt der Zusammenhang der Rede selbst;" is echoed more recently by Dibelius, op. cit., 55; Pohlenz, op. cit., 89. But Gaertner, op. cit., 237 rightly remarks: "Μεταγοεῖν always implies a radical conversion, which involves condemnation of what is being discarded, and a total adoption of something new. To interpret μεταγοεῖν as an exhortation to men to correct their mental conception of God seems to me a forlorn effort to rescue a philosophical line of reasoning."

The demand for repentance which was found in conjunction with periodization in Acts 3:19-21 and in the Freer Logion is also found in Acts 17:30-31. In the context of the Areopagus address it has no relevance to a national repentance conditioning the parousia of the Messiah, but is ecumenical in its scope. Where men are, there is a need for repentance in the light of God's new revelation. It is this note which is sounded in the context of periodization before a Hellenistic audience in Acts 17:30-31.

E. I Cor. 15:20-28

To the material from Acts may be added a passage from Paul which allows a comparative study to be made. The passage is I Cor. 15:20-28, where after a rehearsal of the Pauline proclamation of the resurrection, and a consideration of the consequences of denying the resurrection, Paul declares, νυνὶ δὲ χριστὸς ἐγήγερται ἐκ νεκρῶν, ἀπαρχὴ τῶν κεκοιμημένων. Paul's use of the expression νυνὶ δέ indicates that attention is to be focused on the new thing which God has accomplished in Christ.[130] At this point Paul ceases to argue, and authoritatively declares the truth which has been revealed to him concerning the relations between men and Christ, and between Christ and the Father.

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[130] On νυνὶ δὲ in this passage see J. Weiss, Der Erste Korintherbrief (1925), 305; G. Staehlin, art., νῦν, TWNT IV (1942), 1102, and esp. n.33.

Almost every expression in the verses which follow is significant for its reflection of the Pauline understanding of the eschatological time-table.

In Acts 17:26 there was a veiled allusion to Adam in the expression that God "made from one man (ἐξ ἑνός) every nation of men to live on all the face of the earth." In v.31 a parallel was established between the one man, Adam, and the man of God's choice, Jesus. Paul was anxious to stress that the appearance of Jesus into the history of mankind was an act of God as decisive and as radical as the initial act of Creation. Consequently he declared that the fact of God's appointment of Jesus for the work of redemption was grounded in an act of new creation, the resurrection. In this passage what in Acts 17 had been veiled concerning the relationship between Jesus and Adam is spelled out in detail.[131] Paul specifies Adam by name, and strengthens the parallel between Adam and Jesus, who is designated Christ. Both were men through whom decisive innovations were introduced (δι' ἀνθρώπου θάνατος, καὶ δι' ἀνθρώπου ἀνάστασιν νεκρῶν), so that each may be designated the head of a race (ἐν τῷ Ἀδὰμ πάντες . . . ἐν τῷ Χριστῷ πάντες). Through the man Adam death began its reign over all men who constituted his race. Through the Man Christ, however, a new beginning has been

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[131] See J. M. Bover, "Christus novus Adam (I Cor. 15: 20-23)," VD 4 (1924), 299-305.

made, marked by resurrection of the dead, so that life may again reign over those who constitute his race. For all who are in Christ, Paul writes, shall be made alive, but each event in the redemptive program must take place at the appropriate point on the time-table.[132] The initial breakthrough in the uninterrupted reign of death was the resurrection of the Christ. That resurrection was not an isolated event in history, but the initial event of the general raising of the dead. He was the ἀπαρχή, the first pledge of the harvest which will surely follow. Those who are Christ's will experience resurrection at his parousia. The consummation will follow (εἶτα τὸ τέλος) when the Kingdom shall be delivered over to God so that He may be preeminent in all things. Before that time, however, Christ must reign (δεῖ γὰρ αὐτὸν βασιλεύειν ἄχρι οὗ . . .) exercising sovereignty through the subduing of every spiritual force which opposes itself to the redemptive program of God. The last enemy to be subdued will be death, the sign of its utter destruction being the resurrection of the Christians at the parousia of Christ just preceding the consummation.

In the program of history which Paul has sketched there are discernable certain dividing points. The initial

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[132] I Cor. 15:23 Ἕκαστος δὲ ἐν τῷ ἰδίῳ τάγματι, where it is impossible to exclude Christ from the range covered by ἕκαστος. On the meaning of τάγμα here see Vos. op. cit., 242f.

period is dominated by the person of Adam, and its chief characteristic is death. That period held sway until the resurrection of Christ, when a new period was begun, with a new characteristic, the pledge of life. The new departure is indicated both in the statement that "since through [one] man there came death, through [another] man there came the resurrection of the dead; for even as all who are in Adam die, so all who are in Christ shall be made alive" (vv.21-22), and in the designation of the Christ as the ἀπαρχή. It is the ἀπαρχή which is listed as the first τάγμα, marking a decisive break with the past, and inaugurating a new period on the time-table. As the first period was dominated by the person of Adam, this new period is dominated by the person of the Christ, who exercises sovereignty throughout its duration. The end of that period will be marked by two related events. First, the resurrection of the people of Christ, which will indicate that every principality and authority and power, including death, has been made subject to Christ, the Christians forming the second τάγμα of the resurrection. Their resurrection will be occasioned by the second event, the παρουσία τοῦ Χριστοῦ. To judge from other passages Paul believed that on this occasion a triumphal procession made up of resurrected Christians would meet the Lord and escort Him to earth to complete the resurrection and the ultimate judgment.[133] In

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[133] I Cor. 15:51-57. Cf. I Thess. 4:15-17, where

this passage the interval between the first and second τάγμα, constituting the new period in the Christian understanding of the time-table, is indicated by the temporal preposition ἔπειτα.

The statement which follows, εἶτα τὸ τέλος, is more problematical. Is there also to be an interval between the parousia and the consummation? Or does Paul mean something other than "consummation" by the term τὸ τέλος? Or, does Paul mean that the parousia initiates the consummation, so that the two are simultaneous? The first position has found support among those scholars who are concerned to find provision for a messianic age, or a millenium, in Paul's statement at this point.[134] In general support of this position

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ἀπάντησιν appears to be a technical Hellenistic term designating a public ceremony in which an official delegation goes forth from a city to meet the sovereign or a magistrate in order to escort him into the city. The evidence was first collected by E. Peterson, "Die Einholung des Kyrios," ZsystTh 7 (1929-30), 682-702, and is thoroughly reviewed by Rigaux, op. cit., 547f. Among the patristic commentators this was the view of Chrysostomos, In Thess., Hom. VIII (PG LXII, 440; cf. PG L, 450-51, where he expresses the same interpretation).

[134] E.g. H. St. J. Thackeray, The Relation of St. Paul to Contemporary Jewish Thought (1900), 120f.; H. Leitzmann, An die Korinther^{3}, (1931), 81f.; J. Weiss, op. cit., 358f.; W. Bousset, Die Religion des Judentums (1926)^{3}, 286-288; A. Schweitzer, The Mysticism of Paul the Apostle (1931), 65-94; G. Ladd, Crucial Questions Concerning the Kingdom of God (1952), 72, 177-181; R. D. Culver, "A Neglected Millennial Passage from St. Paul," BS 113 (1956), 141-152; cf. O. Cullmann, "The Kingship of Christ and the Church in the New Testament," in The Early Church (1956), 111-113, 118f. The influence of non-Pauline passages on this view is evident in each of these studies. Lietzmann, for example, compares Rev. 20:4; IV Ezra 8:53; II Bar. 21:23; Test. Levi 18.

it is claimed that the temporal adverb εἶτα at the beginning of verse 24 implies an interval of time sufficient to constitute the messianic age. H. St. John Thackeray writes: "The sequence ἀπαρχή... ἔπειτα... εἶτα seems to require an interval between the second and third points or stages alluded to, as there is undoubtedly an interval between the first and the second."[135] However, εἶτα may introduce what is subsequent, or what is immediately consequent, and a number of instances have been collected where εἶτα does not imply "any interval of any duration between the preceding clause and that which it introduces."[136] The most significant of these come from the larger context of this passage, namely I Cor. 15:5, 6, 7. In the absence of any compelling evidence that an interval is to be understood between the parousia and the consummation, it is unwise to read into the passage a provision which is not explicitly there.[137] The second position depends upon an interpretation of the term τὸ τέλος. Johannes Weiss and Hans Lietzmann have argued that τὸ τέλος means here "the rest of the dead," and refers to the general

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[135] Thackeray, op. cit., 121. See also the writers cited in n.134, ad loc.

[136] H. A. A. Kennedy, St. Paul's Conception of the Last Things (1904), 323; also Vos, op. cit., 243; A. Robertson and A. Plummer, First Corinthians (1911), 358. Cf. Jn. 13:4, 5; 19:26,27; esp. I Cor. 15:5, 6, 7.

[137] For a most careful critique of this first position see Vos, op. cit., 234-246.

resurrection which precedes the consummation.[138] On this understanding a third τάγμα of the risen is supplied, which would be more natural than the enumeration of only two. Both Weiss and Leitzmann combine this view with the first position that there is an interval between the parousia and the consummation, on the ground that the assumption of a βασιλεία τοῦ Χριστοῦ before the final consummation would supply the sphere where Christians are to reign with Christ. There are only two examples which they adduce, however, where τὸ τέλος is said to mean "the rest," one in Isa. 19:15 (LXX) and the other in Aristotle, De generatione animalum 1.18. These passages will not stand close examination. The meaning of Isa. 19:15 is very obscure, but a careful treatment of the text by J. Héring indicates that τέλος in this passage means "end."[139] In the Aristotelian passage he finds that τέλος has a teleological significance. Héring concludes that the evidence produced by Weiss and Lietzmann is too remote and ambiguous to support their conclusions. A further observation that must be made is that the hypothesis assumes that Paul in this passage taught the resurrection of all the dead, both Christians and non-Christians. This assumption can be made, but it cannot be supported with certainty from I Cor. 15, where

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[138] Weiss, op. cit., 358; Lietzmann, op. cit., 80f.

[139] J. Héring, "Saint Paul a-t-il enseigné deux résurrections?" RHPhR12 (1932), 304, n.3.

the entire argument is directed against the contention that Christians who die do not experience resurrection. Throughout the passage it is the Christian who is in view, so that the expression ἐν τῷ Χριστῷ πάντες in verse 22 is best translated "all who are in Christ."[140] There is no certain evidence in this passage, or elsewhere in the Pauline epistles, for a general resurrection, embracing both the wicked and the righteous.[141]

A second understanding of the expression, first advanced by F. C. Burkitt,[142] and later accepted by Karl Barth,[143] is that τὸ τέλος is to be understood adverbally, meaning "finally," so that the climax of the passage comes in the fact that the last enemy, death, has been subdued. Burkitt places a comma after verse 25, which he understands as a parenthetical statement, and translates the passage:

> [23]But every one in his own order: Christ as firstfruits, then those that are Christ's at his coming; [24]then finally . . . when he has abolished all rule and all authority and power ([25]for he must reign till he put all the enemies under his feet), [26]death will be abolished as the last enemy, [27]for He hath put all things is subjection under his feet.

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[140]Vos, op. cit., 236-241; Charles, op. cit., 386.

[141]The only possible evidence for a Pauline view of a general resurrection embracing both the righteous and the unrighteous is found in Acts 24:15. On this question see Vos, op. cit., 215-225.

[142]F. C. Burkitt, "On I Corinthians XV 26," JTS 17 (1916), 384-385.

[143]K. Barth, The Resurrection of the Dead (1933), 171f.

Burkitt does not speak explicitly about a messianic era of any duration, although he speaks of a further event subsequent to the parousia and the abolition of death when the Son becomes subject to the Father. Barth, however, does find a messianic era in this passage. This interpretation of τὸ τέλος is untenable because it makes of paramount significance for the understanding of the passage what is mentioned almost parenthetically, the abolition of death.[144]

A third view finds in τὸ τέλος a technical phrase denoting the consummation. This understanding finds strong support in the immediate context, which is distinctly eschatological, so that the majority of the modern commentators have understood τὸ τέλος in this sense. They have differed among themselves whether τὸ τέλος implies, on the analogy of current messianic speculation, a messianic age following the parousia,[145] or whether the expression means that the parousia will be followed immediately, or with only a very brief interval, by the resurrection and final judgment which ushers in the consummation.[146] Pauline usage must determine

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[144] W. D. Davies, Paul and Rabbinic Judaism[2] (1953), 294.

[145] See the commentators listed under n.134.

[146] E.g. G. B. Stevens, The Pauline Theology (1892), 354f.; R. H. Charles, A Critical History of the Doctrine of a Future Life in Israel, in Judaism, and Christianity (1899), 390, Plummer and Robertson, op. cit., 358; Héring, op. cit., 312f.; Vos, op. cit., 226-246; Davies, op. cit., 295-298.

this question, and the weight of the evidence clearly supports the second of these alternatives. W. D. Davies summarizes this evidence under three heads. First, Paul very rarely speaks of a βασιλεία τοῦ Χριστοῦ Whenever Paul speaks of a future kingdom he speaks of the βασιλεία τοῦ θεοῦ , the Kingdom of God that needs no further consummation in any future age.[147] Secondly, when Paul does once speak of a βασιλεία τοῦ Χριστοῦ (Col. 1:12,13) he regards that Kingdom as a present reality. This is entirely in conformity with what Paul writes to the Corinthians, for "it is not after but before the Parousia that the Messianic Kingdom lies in the mind of Paul."[148] Finally, Paul clearly connects the parousia of Christ with the day of ultimate judgment for the world, which in turn introduces the consummation.[149] There is in this passage no reference, then, to a messianic era following the parousia. If Paul were to use the language of his Palestinian contemporaries, and speak of the Days of the Messiah, he would find this period beginning with the resurrec-

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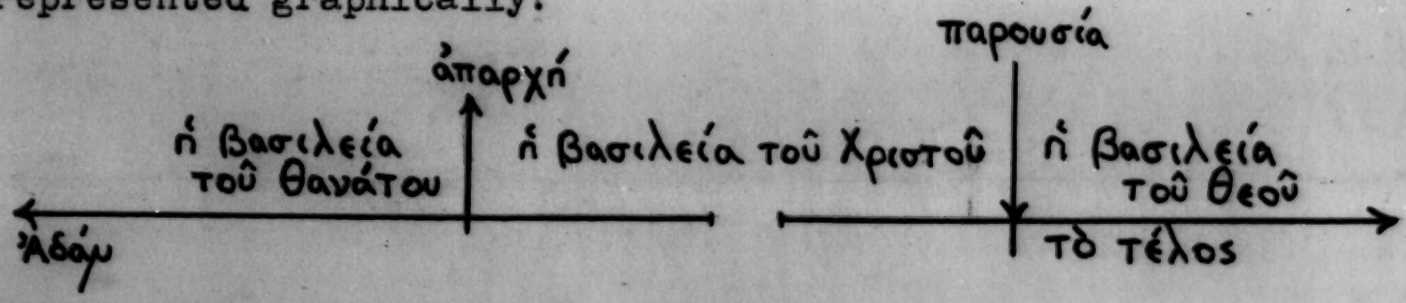
[147] Davies, op. cit., 295f., citing I Thess. 2:12; II Thess. 1:4, 5; Gal. 5:21; I Cor. 6:9-10; 15:50; Col. 4:11.

[148] Ibid., 296, in reference to I Cor. 15:24f. Cf. Cullmann, op. cit., 109-113.

[149] Ibid., 296f., citing I Cor. 1:7-8; II Cor. 1:14; Phil. 1:6, 10; 2:16. Cullmann, op. cit., 111-113, 118f. speaks of a final phase of the Regnum Christi which is introduced by the parousia, making room for a millenium under the influence of Rev. 20:4ff. It is here better to follow Davies who has limited his supporting evidence to Pauline material.

tion, through which the Messiah entered upon a period of sovereignty which he surrenders to the Father when the purpose of that sovereignty had been achieved. This understanding relates the resurrection of Jesus intimately with the consummation, in the sense that the ἀπαρχή is the pledge of τὸ τέλος. On any understanding which reads into the passage a messianic era following the parousia and preceding the consummation, the resurrection of Jesus occupies only a minor place, removed from the consummation by the interval before the parousia and the interval following the parousia. In Paul's thought, however, the resurrection is graphically described under the figure of the firstfruits, the pledge that the full harvest will follow. In the resurrection of Jesus the powers of the age to come had already broken into the time structure. Paul spoke of the age of Adam, of the Age of Christ, and of the Age of the Father which he equated with the consummation.

If this interpretation be correct, Paul reflects a threefold understanding of the time table which corresponds in essential outline to the illustrations of periodization found elsewhere in the New Testament. The passage may be represented graphically:



It is apparent that with the patterns reflected in the speeches of Acts or the Freer Logion there are both similarities and differences. The threefold structure, with the resurrection and the consummation marking the terminal points of the new period, is familiar, as is the emphasis upon the office of the Messiah. What is distinctive is the reflection upon the reign of Christ during this period, and the thought that the consummation will mark the surrender of the sovereignty to the Father, that He may be utterly preeminent. It would appear that the conception of the consummation in terms of the Days of the Messiah, which informed the periodization traceable to the Palestinian community, is foreign to Paul.[150] Paul's understanding in this passage is distinctively theocentric, rather than christocentric. Because these statements occur in the course of a theological exposition, and not in a preaching situation, the common feature of earlier illustrations, the demand for repentance, is missing. But the accent of periodization dominates the entire presentation. The resurrection of Jesus introduced a period in which the new age manifests itself in an anticipatory way. But the

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[150]The position that Paul speaks of a messianic era between the parousia and the consummation is influenced by the desire to conform the Pauline structure with current Jewish speculation, and especially with one interpretation of the Johannine structure in Rev. 20:4ff. There is a danger, however, in seeking to suppress the diversity in the New Testament, forcing every writer into a single mode.

consummation, and the ultimate overthrow of death, yet lies in the future.

Conclusions

The evidence examined in this chapter has indicated that there was within the primitive Christian community a vital interest in the question of the eschatological time-table. In accord with traditional eschatological hopes the apostolic community originally understood a twofold structure of the time-table to be the correct one. It is this understanding which is reflected both in the disciples' question about the establishment of the kingdom in Acts 1:6, and in the request for an immediate parousia in the Freer Logion. This early expectation had to be altered in the light of the experience of the Community. The presence of the Spirit within the Community signaled the in-breaking of the new age in a proleptic way, but the consummation and the parousia of Jesus delayed. In a sense the Community had moved to an advanced point on the time-table where the present age and the age to come overlapped. The traditional eschatological categories were inadequate to express the conviction of living within a period in which the powers of the age to come were breaking into the time-structure. Modifying their earlier thinking they periodized their expectation of the age to come, to allow for a period in which that age manifests itself in an

anticipatory way.

One expression of what the presence of the Spirit within the Community meant is found in Acts 3:19-20, which speaks of the times of refreshment. Luke's expression, καιροὶ ἀναψύξεως, has been influenced by an interpretive tradition of Isa. 32:15 which is now extant only in the translation of Symmachus, but which is clearly earlier than the composition of Acts. In this tradition the promise of "Spirit from on high" was translated in the mood of the refreshment which the Spirit brings. Refreshment was an appropriate term to describe what happened when the powers of the new age broke through into the present age through the Spirit. It was this break-through, together with the delay of the consummation, which marked an advance upon the time-table into a period which anticipated the consummation and was the pledge of its arrival. This period was the times of refreshment.

When the apostolic community reflected upon the character of the consummation they did so in terms of the exaltation of Jesus, who had been appointed Messiah for Israel. Accordingly the consummation was viewed as the Days of the Messiah. This is particularly evident in Acts 3:19-21 and in the Freer Logion. The Freer Logion, perhaps because of its relative lateness, has been altogether neglected in modern discussions of the early Christian concern with time and history. It contains a distinct reflection on the period follow-

ing the resurrection in terms of the Palestinian concept of the messianic woes which precede the Days of the Messiah. The interest in its evidence for periodization of more traditional eschatological hopes lies in the fact that the periodization is attributed directly to the Christ, in a manner calling to mind the discussion of Acts 1:6-8. The differences in its terminology and emphases suggest that it is a fragment of local Palestinian tradition of independent value for its witness to periodization. Evidence for the element of diversity in reflection upon the character of the consummation is found particularly in Paul's statement in I Cor. 15:20-28, where within a theocentric perspective the consummation is envisioned as that period when God receives the Kingdom from the Messiah. These differences in detail are important as an indication of the independence of these several illustrations of periodization.

The resurrection, the evaluation of Jesus no longer as <u>messias designatus</u> but as the Messiah, and the presence of the Spirit within the community and the delay of the consummation led the apostles to alter their traditional hopes for Israel. In modifying earlier convictions they periodized the inherited two-fold understanding of the eschatological time structure to make provision for their self-consciousness as a community in which the powers of the age to come were already at work. This self-consciousness undergirded their

proclamation, with its initial demand that Israel repent, and later that all men everywhere repent, and join themselves to the messianic community which God had called into being in the last times.

This new consciousness was undoubtedly expressed frequently. But of that early concern with the eschatological time-table and significant modification of the traditional understanding there is now extant only slight remains, encrusted within the summaries of the earliest preaching, or within doctrinal discourse. To cull these fossils of the primitive Christian concern with time and history from the contexts in which they are embedded, and to expose them to view with the intention of reconstructing their structural similarities and differences, contributes to an understanding of the specific convictions which distinguished the early Church from contemporary Judaism. It also enables one to assess the relatively higher degree of anticipation of the new age which characterized the Jerusalem Community, with its claim that the general bestowal of the Spirit had introduced the times of refreshment.

CHAPTER IV

THE PERIODIZATION OF TRADITIONAL ESCHATOLOGICAL HOPES: PHARISAIC JUDAISM

During the formative years in which the early Church was consolidating its position and crystallizing its thinking other segments of Judaism were also participating in the political and cultural ferment which marked first century Palestine. The tensions introduced by the political and social upheavals of the period may be detected beneath the surface remarks preserved in contemporary documents. Writing to the Christians of Thessalonica in A.D. 50-51, Paul says of his fellow-countrymen in Judea "God's wrath is come upon them at last" (I Thess. 2:16). The statement is intelligible in the light of the reversals experienced in Judea in the years 44-49. From having regained its position of quasi-independence as "allied Kingdom" under Agrippa I, to whom the favor of Caligula and Claudius had restored the whole kingdom of his grandfather, Herod the Great, Palestine was suddenly plunged into the appalling state of national enslavement, civil war, foreign invasion suppressing revolt, followed by

the horrors of a long-remembered famine.[1] No wonder Paul writes "Wrath is come upon them at last." From the Pharisaic side may be cited a remark by the man more responsbile than any other single individual for the preservation of Pharisaic Judaism after the destruction of Jerusalem in A.D. 70, Rabbi Joḥanan ben Zakkai.[2] He advised: "If you are about to plant a tree, and someone tells you that Messiah has come, finish your work and then go forth to meet the Messiah."[3] The statement is brought into focus in the light of the several messianic movements which continually stirred up Jewish expectations in the years preceding the first Revolt.[4] Joḥanan's fundamental principle as head of the Jewish court was the maintenance of peace and the development of Jewish learning. He continually opposed the spirit of rebellion which he felt was certain to bring destruction on the people, the sanctuary and the land. The romantic nationalism which was kindled by militant messianism was moving men to deeds of

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[1] Cf. Josephus, B. J. II. xii. 1-4; Ant. XVII. x.5; XX. ii.5, v.1-2.

[2] On Joḥanan see J. Spitz, Rabban Jochanan ben Sakkai, Rekter der Hochschule zu Jabneh (1883); A. Schlatter, Joḥanan ben Zakkai der Zeitgenosse der Apostel (1899); L. Blau. "Joḥanan ben Zakkai in christlicher Beleuchtung," MGWJ 43 (1899), 548-561 (a critique of Schlatter's study).

[3] Aboth de R. Nathan II, ch. 31 (34a). I have followed here the interpretation of L. Finkelstein, Akiba (1936), 60-70.

[4] See below, pp. 283-300.

unquestionable heroism and self-sacrifice; but to Joḥanan it was wrong and irrational. To him messianism was useful as a source of consolation, but as a guide to practical policy it was misleading. It is this sentiment which is conveyed in his dictum "finish your work and then go forth to meet the Messiah." Feeling that the need for learning was urgent in the provinces Joḥanan settled for eighteen years in Galilee where he struggled to establish an academy. But to the Galileans Joḥanan's appeal to study the Torah appeared as irrelevant as did their messianic movements to him. In exasperation he returned to Jerusalem, after pronouncing an ominous lament over the provincials: "Galilee, Galilee, you hate the Torah; your end will be seizure by the Romans."[5]

To these illustrations it would be possible to add many more. It was inevitable that the events of a troubled day would stimulate sharpened thinking and would be recorded in the literature of the period. It is an accident of history that the responses to the crises which faced Judaism in the first century, especially after the disastrous revolt against Romé and the destruction of Jerusalem and the Temple, are now known only from Pharisaic documents. The diversity which characterized religious and social thought in an earlier period of Judaism tended to become obscured in the formu-

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[5] j. Shabbat 16 end, 15d. On this passage see Schlatter, op. cit., 14-15.

lation of a monolithic Judaism. But it is instructive to study the documents which reflect the influence of these historical forces upon religious, and especially eschatological thinking, to determine whether traditional eschatological hopes have been modified in response to the pressure of political and social reversal. In the sources available for investigation it is possible to distinguish two forms of response, the response of the apocalyptic tradition as expressed in IV Ezra and II Baruch, and the response of Tannaitic Judaism as expressed in haggadic tradition.

A. The Apocalyptic Tradition

The crisis which gave birth to IV Ezra and II Baruch was the crushing humiliation suffered by the Jewish people following their unsuccessful revolt against Rome (66-70 A.D.). This defiance resulted in costly defeat, the burning of the Temple and the destruction of Jerusalem.[6] Out of the smoldering ruins Jerusalem emerged a small garrison town, the camp of the Tenth Roman Legion.[7] It was in this period of frus-

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[6]Cf. IV Ezra 3:2; 9:38ff.; 10:21-23, 48; 12:44-48; II Bar. 8:1-9:2; 20:2-4; 32:2-4; 85:3.

[7]M. Avi-Yonah, "The Historical Background," in Jerusalem. The Saga of the Holy City (1954), 30. Titus had ordered Jerusalem to be destroyed, but "it is obvious that the destruction of a city built of stone which, moreover, was to serve as a garrison city, could not be complete. All the evidence points to the fact that the city continued to exist, albeit as a mere appendix of the legionary camp. We know . . . that at the time the Jews had seven synagogues on Mount Zion, one of which was still standing in the Fourth Century.

tration and defeat that the twin apocalypses, IV Ezra and II Baruch, first appeared in their present form (c.80-120 A.D.).[8]

1. IV Ezra

IV Ezra, in its essential core, is an apocalypse cast in the form of a theodicy. The searching questions which are asked are those of a sincere and deeply disturbed believer. The cry of the seer[9] has a ruthless integrity to it. It is a

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From a military diploma issued to a soldier of the Tenth Legion as well as from other epigraphical material, such as a tombstone of a Roman official of the Legion, we learn that the soldiers were accompanied by their wives and children, who must have lived somewhere outside the camp. All of this leads us to assume the survival of Jerusalem as a small garrison town." Cf. K. W. Clark, "Worship in the Jerusalem Temple after A.D. 70," NTSt 6 (1960), 269-280.

[8]The question of date, relationship and priority of these works is knotty, but the consensus of current scholarship is that IV Ezra appeared first, in the early years of the ninth decade, and that II Baruch was issued a decade or so later in imitation of IV Ezra, and as a challenge to the earlier work, expressing viewpoints which increasingly became normative for Judaism. This is the position of H. Gunkel, "Das vierte Buch Ezra," in E. Kautzsch, Die Apokryphen und Pseudepigraphen des Alten Testaments II (1900), 351; G. H. Box, The Ezra Apocalypse (1912), lxviii; B. Violet, Die Ezra-Apocalypse II (1924), lv; C. C. Torrey, "A Twice-Buried Apocalypse," in Munera Studiosa (1946), 24-28, among others. The contrary position, that II Baruch is prior and has been used, at least in parts, by IV Ezra, was argued by R. H. Charles, The Apocalypse of Baruch (1896), lxvii-lxxvi; J. Wellhausen, Skizzen und Vorarbeiten VI (1899), 248-249; and K. Kohler, "II Esdras," JE V (1903), 221, but has not found general acceptance. On the question of date see esp. Violet, op. cit., xlvii-xlix, and J. B. Frey, "Apocryphes de l'Ancien Testament," DB Suppl. I (1928), 413f., 419f.

[9]The Seer of the apocalypse is identified as "Ezra," who purportedly received the seven visions and their interpretation while in exile in Babylon thirty years after the

cry which has been wrung out of the anguish of experience. How can God allow Israel to experience humiliation at the hands of a godless enemy who despises the Law and the Covenant which assure Israel of God's love?[10] How can Israel's continued affliction be reconciled with divine justice?[11] The answers given to the questions of theodicy are eschatological answers, which satisfy only in part. Yet the debate, with its "promethian" note, is carried out on a high plane, and it is probable that the viewpoint of the author can be known only by taking both the questions and the answers into account.[12]

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destruction of Jerusalem (i.e. 556 B.C.; cf. 3:1). The anachronism of projecting Ezra back into the exilic period more than a century before his ministry, however, is due to gloss and interpolation (i.e.3:1 "who am also Ezra;" cf. 6:10; 7:2, 25; 8:2 where "Ezra" is introduced in the vocative). The vehicle of the apocalypse originally was Shealtiel (3:1), the son of Jehoiachin and the father of Zerubbabel (cf. I Chron.3: 17; Ezra 3:2,8; Matt. 1:12), whose presence at Babylon in the generation following the fall of Jerusalem is certain. The reason for the identification of Shealtiel with Ezra may be found in chapter 14 of the apocalypse in its present form. This chapter differs from the rest of the apocalypse in tone and purpose, and clearly demands the figure of Ezra the scribe. By identifying Shealtiel with Ezra the scribe an extraneous narrative was added to a work which already displayed diversity in apocalyptic form and tradition, but which appears to have been the product of a single author.

[10] IV Ezra 5:23-29; 6:38-59; cf. 10:21-23.

[11] IV Ezra 3:4-36.

[12] So. W. Mundle, "Das religioese Problem des IV. Ezrabuches," ZAW N.F. 6 (1929), 222-249, esp. 235f. Mundle's study remains one of the most helpful treatments of IV Ezra in terms of theodicy.

In terms of its religious expression, IV Ezra is the product of Pharisaic Judaism.[13] This is clear both from its general and specific teaching, and is supported by haggadic parallels to its tradition in the later rabbinic literature.[14] The Seer himself conforms to the Rabbinic ideal, in not seeking his own delight but in searching out the Law of God with diligence (13:54). Yet his attitude toward the Law calls for special notice. The apocalyptist glorifies the Law,[15] but he is acutely conscious of the problems it poses for rebellious Israel. Possession of the Law merely sharpens an awareness of unfaithfulness to its demands (9:36f.; 3:20-26; 7:17f.; 8:20-36). To judge by the standard of the Law, at best very

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[13] Ibid., 223, with a good summary paragraph on 235; "Damit sind die Voraussetzungen juedischer Froemmigkeit, die fuer das religioese Leben des IV. Esrabuches massgebend sind, in ihren wesentlichen Grundzuegen beschreiben. Der Glaube an den einen allmaechtigen Gott, der als souveraener Herr seiner Schoepfung gegenuebersteht, der Israel als das Volk des Eigentums aus der Menge der Voelker sich ausersehen und durch sein goettliches Gesetz begnadet hat, der ihm die Verheissung einer wunderbaren Zukunft schenkt and sein Gericht ueber die Suenden der Menschen ergehen laesst: Das ist die juedische Grundanschauung, die fuer den Verfasser unserer Apokalypse massgebend ist und trotz all weiterspinnenden Reflexion massgebend bleibt. Diese Grundanschauung beherrscht sein religioeses Leben, das freilich mit ihr noch nicht beschrieben ist." Cf. Box, op. cit., xxxiv-xxxvi, lviii-lxvi.

[14] Cf. R. Rosenthal, Vier apocryphische Buecher aus der Zeit und Schule R. Akibas (1885), 55-71; I Lévi, "La Pesikta Rabbati et le 4e Ezra," REJ 24 (1892), 281-285 [IV Ezra 9-10 and Pesikta Rabbati 131b-132a show points of contact]; and Box, op. cit., lxii-lxvi.

[15] See especially Mundle, op. cit., 227-231.

few can hope for salvation (7:45-48). The need of men who sin continually is not so much the Law but the mercy and compassion of God (7:132-8:3,36). The lack of self-confidence through possession of the Law is in sharp contrast to the common Pharisaic conviction, repeated throughout the Rabbinic literature, that if it were not for the Law which God gave to Israel He would have abandoned his people to the fate of the other nations.[16] Yet it has its parallel in Tannaitic utterances from precisely this period in Jewish history.[17] In seeking to define the expression of IV Ezra more carefully, numerous details indicate that the apocalyptist was strongly influenced by the School of Shammai, and particularly by its

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[16] E.g. Sifra VIII.10 (פרשת בחוקותי, ed. Weiss, 112c), commenting on Lev. 26:44: "And what has been left to them that it might be said they were not loathed or cast away? Indeed all the goodly gifts which were given to them were taken from them. And if it had not been for the book of the Law which was left to them they would not have been different from the nations of the whole world." The Torah is proof that God has not abandoned his people. This midrash is also found in Esther R., Proem. 4, where it is assigned to R. Ḥiyya (c. 200 A.D.). Both in Sifra and Esther R. the passage continues in a vein suggesting its historical context: Sifra: "I have not rejected them in the time of Vespasian; I have not loathed them in the time of the Greeks; to destroy them utterly and to break my covenant with them in the days of Haman. For I am the Lord your God in the days of Gog." The progression in Esther R. is Vespasion, Trajan, Haman (=Hadrian?), the Romans, Gog. With the attitude of IV Ezra contrast the Torah confidence of II Bar. 32:1; 44:7,13-15; 48:22-24; 51:3, 7; 77:15-16; 85:3-5.

[17] E.g. Berakoth 28 (Bar., Johanan ben Zakkai); and esp. Shabbath 101a (Bar.) and ʿArakin 17a (Bar., Eliezer ben Hyrkanus). According to the last passage, even Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, if judged strictly, could not have survived the test.

greatest teacher in the early Jamnia period, Rabbi Eliezer ben Hyrcanus.[18] Evidence of periodization of earlier eschatological hopes within IV Ezra may be tentatively viewed, therefore, as an expression of the School of Shammai in the early Jamnia period.

In IV Ezra the older two-fold understanding of the eschatological time-table comes to expression both explicitly and implicitly, and underlies much of the argument.[19] When the Seer questions the goodness of the providence of God

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[18] E.g. in the controversy between Beth Hillel and Beth Shammai whether it is good that man was created or not, the apocalyptist sides with Beth Shammai [cf. ʿErubin 13 (Bar.) with IV Ezra 4:12]. With the Shammaites the apocalyptist agrees that unrighteous souls must go through the purgation of the fires of Gehenna before admittance into paradise (M.Sanh. XIII.4; Rosh Ha-Shanah 16b (Bar.); cf. IV Ezra 7:102-115). The Spirit of the Shammaites is again manifested in the teaching that the messianic salvation is granted only to the remnant of Israel (IV Ezra 3:30; 9:22f.; 12:34; 13:37f.), for it is Eliezer who, in opposition to the School of Hillel, denies all Gentiles a share in the age to come (Tos. Sanh. XIII,2). In regard to the return of the Lost Ten Tribes the author also shares the view of Eliezer, in opposition to Akiba, that they will take part in the messianic redemption (IV Ezra 13: 40-47; cf. M. Sanh. X.3), and the very name of the land of exile used by the apocalyptist, "Arzareth," reflects the same Biblical word used by Eliezer and Akiba, ארץ אחרת; cf. Deut. 29:27. With the lack of confidence in his own righteousness which characterizes the apocalyptist may be compared the habit of Eliezer of quoting Eccl.7:20, "Surely there is not a righteous man upon the earth that does good and does not sin" [ʿArakin 17a (Bar.)]. See further esp. Rosenthal, op. cit., 55-71.

[19] E.g. 4:27-32; 6:7-10; 7:12f., 47,112-114, 119; 8:1, 50-54. For a comparative study of the linguistic terminology employed see J. Goitia, "Indicaciones temporales en la escatología," Semena Biblica Española 16 (1956), 49-84, and esp. 56-58, 79-80.

which allows the wicked to triumph and the innocent to suffer, he is cautioned by Uriel, the interpreting angel, that he does not have the perspective from which to judge history accurately, for God has not made one age, but two (7:50). The reference is to this present age, with its sorrow and seeming contradictions, and to the saving age to come when sorrow will be reversed and apparent contradictions will be resolved. "The ways of this age" are defined by the adjectives "narrow, sorrowful and painful," and are to be contrasted with "the ways of the future age," which are "broad and safe and yield the fruit of immortality" (7:12-13).[20] The years of this present age are definitely limited, and the Seer is assured that "this age is hastening swiftly to its end" (4:26). The duration of the age to come, in contrast, is eternal (7:119). When the Seer asks whether there will be any significant interval between this age and the age to come, the answer he receives is enigmatic:

> Then answered I and said: What shall mark the parting asunder of the times? When shall the end of the first age be and the beginning of the second?
>
> And he said unto me: From Abraham to Abraham. For from him sprang Jacob and Esau, but Jacob's hand held the heel of Esau from the beginning. The heel of the first age is Esau: the hand of the second is Jacob. The beginning of a man is his hand, and the end of a man is his heel. Between heel and hand seek nothing else, Ezra (6:7-10).

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[20] Cf. IV Ezra 4:27 on the present age, and 8:50-54 on the age to come.

The images change, but the answer is the same: there will be no interval between the end of the present age and the beginning of the consummation. From Abraham to Abraham there could be no break in time. Likewise from the present age to the next there will be no interval of time. One age necessarily follows immediately upon the other. Appealing to an exegesis of Gen. 25:26 which was apparently new,[21] the point that there is no interval between the two ages is emphasized again: there is nothing between the heel and the hand that grasps it. The end and the beginning coincide. The Seer is reassured of a speedy help; no period of duration intervenes between the two ages. It would be difficult to find a sharper affirmation of the two-age structure than that which comes to expression here.

Nevertheless, in its present form IV Ezra clearly teaches that there will be a messianic age of limited dura-

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[21]Cf. Gen. Rabba LXIII:9 to Gen. 25:26: "A [Roman] prefect asked one of the scholars of Beth Silon: Who shall hold the government [of the world] after us? Then he [i.e. the scholar] brought out a piece of blank paper, took a pen, and wrote thereon [the words]: 'And after that came forth his brother, and his hand had hold of Esau's heel.' Then they said: Behold how ancient words become new in the mouth of an elder." In the parallel in Yalqut, ad loc the elder addressed is identified as Rabban Gamaliel, that is Gamaliel II, the Shammaite head of the Jamnia circle who flourished c.90-110 A.D. The statement "Behold how ancient words become new" means that while the passage was well known it had been given a new interpretation which had not formerly been guessed. It is to be noted that in this exegesis also IV Ezra shows the influence of Shammaite tradition.

tion. Within the framework of the Third Vision, Uriel speaks to the Seer about the sudden revelation of the Messiah:

> For behold the days come, and it shall be when the signs which I have foretold unto you shall come to pass. And whosoever is delivered from the predicted evils, the same shall see my wonders. For the Messiah[22] shall be revealed together with those who are with him, and he shall rejoice the survivors four hundred years. And it shall be after three years that my servant the Messiah shall die, and all in whom there is human breath. Then shall the world be turned into primaeval silence seven days, like as the beginning; so that no man is left. And it shall be after seven days that that age which is not yet awake shall be roused, and that which is corruptible shall perish (7:26-31).

The verses which immediately follow describe the resurrection and the great day of Judgment which will introduce the consummation at the conclusion of the Days of the Messiah (7:32-44).

The passage quoted is remarkable from several points of view. At the same time that explicit mention is made of the Days of the Messiah, which are to last four hundred years,

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[22]The text of this passage has been freely altered by the scribes in the several versions of the apocalypse, and has to be restored to its probable original form. The reading "the Messiah" is that of the Arabic Version, and accounts for the Syriac, Ethiopic and Armenian readings as well. The Latin text filius meus Iesus is a blatant Christian interpolation. The number "four hundred" is well attested, but the Syriac reads "thirty," bringing the number of years into harmony with the geneological account of Jesus in Lk. 3:23-38. The expression "my servant the Messiah" is preserved by the Ethiopic, and is certainly more to be expected in Jewish documents of this period than the expression "my son." On the various alterations to the text made in the interests of Christian theology see esp. J. Bloch, "Some Christological Interpolations in the Ezra-Apocalypse," HTR 51 (1958), 87-94, and Violet, op. cit., II, 74f., 182f., 191.

the two-age structure of time is affirmed. The Days of the Messiah are merely a period within this age, subsequent to the messianic woes which introduce these days, and are followed by a return to the primeval chaos which shall precede the new creation. If the affirmation of the death of the Messiah at the conclusion of the four hundred year period is an authentic part of the apocalypse, and not a scribal interpolation, this passage stands without parallel in contemporary literature.[23] Further, it is clear that the section 7:26-44 not only interrupts the argument which has preceeded it, but appears incongruous with other sections of the apocalypse. These facts led earlier critical scholarship to regard these verses as an interpolation by the final redactor

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[23]That the passage occasioned difficulty to early scribes on dogmatic grounds appears clear from the fact that it is omitted by the Arabic and Armenian Versions, and in one Latin MS the reading adsumetur was substituted for morietur, bringing the passage into conformity with the parallel in II Baruch 30:1, where the Messiah returns to glory after his reign, just prior to the resurrection. It is largely on the basis of the parallel passage in Baruch that W. O. E. Oesterley, II Esdras (1933), 71f., and L. Gry, Les dires prophètiques d'Esdras I (1938), 149; Idem, "La 'Mort du Messie' en IV Esdras VII.29 [III.v.4]," Mémorial Lagrange (1940), 133-139, deny that the apocalyptist would have represented the Messiah dying as an ordinary man. It is important, however, to note that the Messiah depicted may be Messiah bar Ephraim, for the one passage which explicitly identifies him with David does so only through interpolation. The passage is 12:32, on which see Bloch, op. cit., 93f. If the messianic figure be Messiah bar Ephraim both his interest in the Ten Tribes and his death are understandable. See further, E. G. King, Yalkut on Zachariah (1882), Appendix A. "Messiah ben Joseph," 85-108, and G. H. Dix, "The Messiah ben Joseph," JTS 27 (1925-26), 130-143.

of the book, who imposed upon it an eschatological scheme which allowed for a temporary messianic kingdom, a scheme which was foreign to the apocalypse in its original form.[24] More recent scholarship, however, has recognized that the various strata of apocalyptic frequently reflect divergent traditions which were not always harmonized, and that a mosaic in ideas does not necessarily imply the incorporation of a new document or the editing of an earlier apocalypse by a later hand. Because the incongruities and apparent contradictions of IV Ezra can be paralleled in other apocalyptic literature the position that another source is required whenever another eschatological conception is introduced has largely been abandoned.[25]

That this section as it stands belonged to the original apocalypse is argued by three considerations. First, while proclaiming specifically that there will be a messianic period of limited duration, that period is subordinated to the two-age structure which elsewhere is affirmed so emphatically. The Days of the Messiah are merely an endpoint in

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[24]E.g. R. Kabisch, Das vierte Buch Esra auf seine Quellen untersucht (1899), 1-130; Box, op. cit., xxv-xxviii, li-lvii, 108-118.

[25]The sharpest challenge to the older position was that of J. Keulers, Die eschatologische Lehre des vierten Esrabuches (1922), 41-55. See further Oesterley, op. cit., xv-xvi, xxxiii, 68; Mundle, op. cit., 226-227; Frey, op. cit., 413-414, among others.

the present age, and in the joy which these days bring may be seen an anticipation of the consummation. But it is clear that these Days are not themselves the consummation, nor do they initiate the consummation. They end in death, and a return to primeval chaos at the end of the present age. Only if the messianic period was projected as an interval between the end of the present age and the beginning of the age to come would the eschatological scheme of IV Ezra be essentially violated. A <u>second</u> factor which is immediately apparent is the brevity of the description of the Days of the Messiah, or of the messianic activity. Those who survive the messianic woes will see wonders,[26] the Messiah shall be revealed together with his heavenly companions,[27] and joy shall replace the sorrow which previously had characterized the present age. But this meager description exhausts the content of the text, and it is clear that nothing is built upon the thought of a temporary messianic kingdom. If a redactor desired to introduce an eschatological conception foreign to his original document would he have contended with a single passage of such brief compass? The passage stands alone and conforms to a characteristic of IV Ezra which has repeatedly caught critical attention, namely the subordination of the messianic hope

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[26] 7:27; cf. 6:25, where this thought first appears.

[27] 7:28; cf. 6:26.

and of the person of the Messiah to the conception of God as ultimate judge and the one who alone introduces the saving age to come.[28] It is in keeping with this conception that the Days of the Messiah are conceived not as the time of final redemption, but merely as the climactic period of the present evil age which must end in death. The Messiah is a human being, who must die and experience resurrection like all other men. These conceptions are not foreign to the apocalypse as a whole, which reflects a sustained tendency to regard the Days of the Messiah as of less significance than the age to come. The third factor is the degree to which this passage conforms to Shammaite tradition, particularly to the tradition of Rabbi Eliezer ben Hyrcanus, whose influence on the apocalyptist has been detected at other points in IV Ezra. The conception of a temporary messianic age which terminates the present age was widely entertained in the Jamnia circle, though opinion differed as to its duration.[29] The classic Rabbinic passage on the duration of the Days of the Messiah is a pre-Hadrianic baraitha:

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[28] Cf. Box, op. cit., lvi; L. Vaganay, Le problème eschatologique dans le IVe livre d'Esdras (1906), 99; Mundle, op. cit., 226-227; Oesterley, op. cit., xxxii-xxxiii; Keulers, op. cit., 77-89, among others.

[29] See esp. W. Bacher, Die Agada der Tannaiten I (1903) 145-148; J. Klausner, Die messianischen Vorstellungen des juedischen Volkes im Zeitalter der Tannaiten (1903), 17-33; P. Volz, Juedische Eschatologie von Daniel bis Akiba (1903), 60-68; W. Bousset, Die Religion des Judentums[3] (1926), 288f.

R. Eliezer ben Hyrkanus said: The days of the Messiah will be forty years, as it is said, Forty years long shall He take hold of this generation (Ps. 95:10).[30] R. Eleazar ben Azariah said: Seventy years, as it is said: It shall come to pass in that day, that Tyre shall be forgotten seventy years according to the days of one king (Isa. 23:15). Now, who is the one king? The Messiah, of course. R. Jose the Galilean[31] said: Three generations, for it is written, They shall fear thee with the sun, and before the moon [they shall fear thee], a generation and generations (Ps. 72:5).[32]

. . . . . .

Another baraitha taught: R. Eliezer said: The days of the Messiah will be forty years. Here it is written, And he afflicted thee, and suffered thee to hunger, and fed thee with manna (Deut. 8:3), while elsewhere it is written, Make us glad according to the days wherein thou hast afflicted us (Ps. 90:15).[33] R. Dosa said: Four hundred years. It is here written: And they shall serve them; and they shall afflict them for four hundred years (Gen. 15:13), while elsewhere it is written, Make us glad according to the days wherein thou hast afflicted us. R. Jose the Galilean[34] said: Three hundred and sixty-five years, even as the days of the solar year, as it is writ-

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[30]God will rule over them through the Messiah. The exegesis turns on regarding קוט ,קטט, "to be wearied," "to be vexed, annoyed," as if it were from the root לקט, "to seize," "to take hold."

[31]The text reads Rabbi, that is R. Judah ha-Nasi (end of 2nd century), but in the Midrash Tehillim to Ps. 90 the dictum is ascribed to R. Jose the Galilean, a contemporary of the other rabbis cited in the passage.

[32]Ps. 72:5 is thus interpreted: They shall fear thee when Messiah comes, who is referred to as a sun (cf.v.17), and they shall fear thee on account of the House of David, which is likened to a moon (cf.89:39: He shall be established forever, as the moon) for a generation (one) and generations (two).

[33]Attracted by the presence of the word "afflict" in both verses, R. Eliezer interprets, just as they were afflicted forty years in the wilderness, so shall they rejoice forty years under the kingship of Messiah.

[34]The text again reads Rabbi, but must be corrected as above, n.31.

ten, For the day of vengence is in my heart, and the year of my redemption is come (Isa.63:4).[35] (b.Sanh.99a).

When the text of IV Ezra is compared with these baraitoth it is clear that it reflects the same vein of thought. The number "four hundred" has been deduced by interpreting Gen.15:13 in the light of Ps. 90:15, on the hermeneutical principle of gezarah shewah: because the word "afflict" occurs in both passages, the one is interpreted in the light of the other. While in the second baraitha the number four hundred is attributed to R. Dosa ben Horkinas, twice in the Yalqut, as well as once in the Pesiqta, the dictum is ascribed to R. Eliezer ben Hyrkanus. R. Dosa was a younger contemporary of R. Eliezer, and the similarity in their father's names may have caused some confusion in the sources. The numbers "four hundred" and "forty" refer to the bondage in Egypt and to the wilderness-wanderings respectively, and Rosenthal, who corrects the baraitha reference on the basis of the Yalqut, points out that R. Eliezer was particularly found of projecting his conceptions of the future in terms of Israel's so-

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[35]The text is interpreted: For it is in my heart that the year (365 days) of redemption shall come, of which each day shall be as long as the day of my vengence. God's day of vengence is a year, as in the case of the Spies, on account of whom the Israelites were condemned to wander in the wilderness for forty years,--a year for each day of their mission. Cf. Rashi's comment to Num. 14:34.

[36]Yalqut to Ps. 72 and 90; Pesikta rabbati, ch.1 (end, ed. Friedmann 4a).

journ in Egypt, regarded as a typical experience.[37]

In detecting the influence of R. Eliezer in the brief summary of the Messiah's activity in 7:26-30, it is profitable to note the fuller description of that activity in chapter 13. There a significant element in the messianic mission is described in terms of destroying the assembled enemies of the divine rule, the "wars of Gog and Magog," and the gathering of the lost ten tribes. After the destruction of the last enemies the people of God "who are found within my holy border" (13:48), shall be defended by the Messiah and shall see many wonders. The eschatological scheme presented here, and the hope held forth for the lost ten tribes, also agrees with that which in the sources is identified with R. Eliezer ben Hyrkanus and the school to which he gave leadership.[38] This unity in point of view between the various sections of the apocalypse lends confidence in the essential reliability

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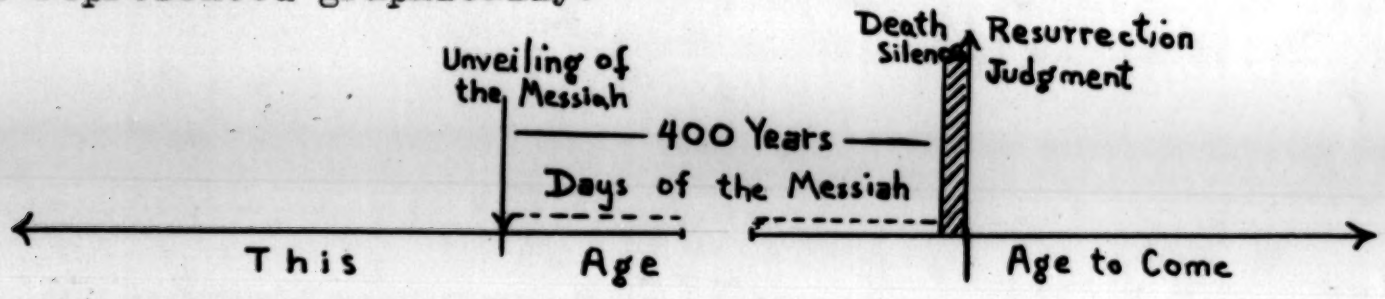
[37] Rosenthal, op. cit., 64-65. See, however, J. Bonsirven, "Judaisme Palestinien, au temps de Jésus-Christ," DB Suppl. IV (1949), 1252 for parallel traditions associating R. Eliezer with four different estimates of the duration of the Day of the Messiah.

[38] On R. Eliezer's position with respect to the Ten Tribes see n. 18 above. On Messiah's activity and relationship to those who survive the messianic woes, cf. Mekhilta to Ex. 16:30 (ed. Horowitz-Rabin p. 170), R. Eliezer said: If you keep this Sabbath you shall be delivered from three visitations--from the birth-pangs of the Messiah, and from the day of Gog and Magog, and from the great day of Judgment. Cf. Mekhilta to Ex. 16:25 (ed. Horowitz-Rabin, p. 169), where the order is slightly different.

of the tradition in 7:26-30 as representing the viewpoint of the apocalyptist.

The Ezra-Apocalypse affirms the old two-fold understanding of the redemptive time-table, but it modifies that earlier understanding in two significant directions. First, the time of definitive redemption is designated as the age to come, and the one who introduces this age and gives to it its peculiar characteristics is not the Messiah, but God. This affirmation stands as an articulation of an earlier point of view, and as a denial of other early patterns of thought in which the Days of the Messiah are represented as the antithesis to the present evil age. It is in support of this conviction that the Messiah is assigned a limited role throughout the apocalypse. The second modification stems from this first affirmation, and relates to the Days of the Messiah. In the older two-fold structure of the eschatological time-table the consummation could be designated either as the age to come or as the Days of the Messiah, and the terms העולם הבא or לעתיד לבוא could convey a wide range of meaning, the context supplying the connotation of these terms in each instance. The Seer of IV Ezra, however, now alters that possibility by affirming the existence of both the Days of the Messiah and of the age to come. But the Days of the Messiah are assigned to the present age, and end in death. They may anticipate the consummation in the joy which they bring;

but they are not the consummation, nor do they immediately introduce the consummation. The present age has been periodized to allow for a messianic period which ends in defeat. The structural pattern of the apocalypse which emerges can be represented graphically:



So far as the sources allow a judgment to be made, this understanding comes to expression within Judaism first in IV Ezra,[39] and represents a bridge between an earlier and a later understanding. Like the earlier understanding, it is affirmed that there is no interval between the two ages, for

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[39] J. W. Bailey, "The Temporary Messianic Reign in the Literature of Early Judaism," JBL 53 (1934), 170-187, holds that this conception is to be found as early as the first century B.C., in I Enoch 91-103 and that it is suggested in Jubilees. An examination of the texts indicates that there is nothing in the Enoch material which speaks of, or demands interpretation in terms of, the messianic age, while the material in Jubilees is open to more than one interpretation, as Bailey admits. There is, however, significant reflection upon the eighth week in the Apocalypse of Weeks as a period in which the ultimate vindication of the consummation will manifest itself in an anticipatory way. See above, pp.40-42.

It is known that the Samaritans entertained a conviction about the Ta'eb, or Restorer, which in several respects parallels the material in IV Ezra, and this tradition may antedate the Ezra-Apocalypse, although our present sources are late medieval documents. See A. E. Cowley, "The Samaritan Doctrine of the Messiah," Expositor 5th Series 1 (1895), 161-174. J. A. Montgomery, The Samaritans (1906), 239-251; and M. Gaster, The Samaritans (1925), 84-93.

the Days of the Messiah form a significant part, but only a part, of the present age. Unlike the earlier view, provision is made for a messianic period of limited duration. Later views developed this modification in earlier thinking still further, so that the Days of the Messiah were removed from the present age to form a distinct period between this age and the age to come, giving a sharp three-fold structure to the divine time-table. But the value of IV Ezra as a document lies in the fact that it allows this developed thinking to be detected in its earliest stage, supplying the important middle-term between earlier and later representations of eschatological schema. It appears to catch Shammaite periodization of traditional eschatological hopes at a very early stage.[40]

2. II Baruch

The Apocalypse of Baruch sustains a definite relationship both in literary structure and expression to Fourth Ezra, although the exact way in which this relationship is to be expressed is difficult to determine with certainty. R. H. Charles cites over sixty verbal parallels between the twin apocalypses,[41] while the structure and dramatic approach of

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[40] The impact of the historical crisis upon this modification of traditional hopes will be traced below, after the evidence has been set forth more fully.

[41] Charles, op. cit., 170-171. Cf. G. H. Box, op. cit.,

II Baruch and IV Ezra are strikingly identical. Each work in its present form is divided by six fasts into seven sections,[42] while the "promethian" debate aspect in IV Ezra 3-10 is echoed with less power in the first half of II Baruch. It is probable that IV Ezra is the earlier and more original work, while II Baruch represents a conscious imitation and critical revision of the Ezra Apocalypse.[43] The tone of the revision is evident particularly in the Torah-confidence of II Baruch, which contrasts so sharply with the lack of this confidence in IV Ezra.[44] It is also reflected in the attitude toward responsibility which comes to expression in the several Adam passages, and in the assurance that the righteous are able to stand accepted before God through the keeping of the Law which characterizes II Baruch.[45] While the

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lxviii-lxx; C. C. Torrey, The Apocryphal Literature (1945), 123-125.

[42] Cf. IV Ezra 5:20-22; 6:35-37; 9:23-28; 10:60 (where there is no mention of a fast); 12:49-51; 13:57-14:1; II Baruch 5:7; 9:2; 12:5; 21:1; mention of the fifth fast which should come after 35 is lost; 47:2. Within each section the order is, first a fast, then a divine command or revelation, and finally the publication of the command or revelation unless accompanied by a prohibition to do so, as in II Bar.20:3.

[43] See above, n.8.

[44] See especially II Bar. 32:1; 44:7, 13-15; 48:22-24; 51:3,7; 77:15-16; 85:3-5 and Charles' notes ad loc. For the lack of Torah confidence in IV Ezra see above pp.228-230.

[45] Cf. for the first esp. II Bar. 54:15-19, and Charles' long note, 91-93; for the second esp., 14:13-14; 21:9,11, which contradicts IV Ezra 8:1-3. The passages blaming Adam

influence of the Shammaite R. Eliezer ben Hyrkanus and his school may be detected in IV Ezra, these fresh affirmations in II Baruch reflect the influence of the younger school of Akiba, which appears to have used the later apocalypse as the vehicle through which to purposefully challenge the debated utterances of IV Ezra.[46] Both apocalypses are characteristic of the early Jamnia period, but II Baruch more nearly conforms in its expression to what was becoming "normative" Judaism.

Like IV Ezra, the Apocalypse of Baruch affirms the traditional two-fold time structure at the same time that it makes provision for a messianic age of limited duration. Under a variety of terms, the present age is described as a period of anguish, tribulation, toil and pain whose chief characteristic is corruption. In contrast the promised age to come may be described in terms of life and great glory.[47]

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for human misery (IV Ezra 3:7, 21f.; 4:30; 7:118; II Bar.17:3; 23:4; 48:42; 54:15,19) are printed in parallel columns in E. Schuerer, Geschichte[4] III (1909), 310.

[46] See esp. Rosenthal, op. cit., 72-103, together with Charles' notes to II Bar. 14:7; 21:9-11; 29:2; 48:42; 54:15-19; 67:5; 72:4-6. L. Ginzberg's article on "the Apocalypse of Baruch" in JE II (1902), 552-554 is particularly fine for pointing out the haggadic parallels to the exegetical tradition found in II Baruch.

[47] Cf.II Bar. 14:13; 15:7-8; 21:13-17; 42:6-8; 44:8-15; 48:48-50; 51:3, 8, 14, 16; 57:3. For the terminology employed and its Semitic background see J. Goitia, op. cit., 57-58, 79-80.

While the present age must end in death, the age to come is described as "the hour which will abide forever" (44:12), or "the age which does not die" (51:3) and "which does not grow old" (51:16). The fullest description contrasting the two ages occurs in a passage promising the consolation of Zion:

> If you endure and persevere in His fear, and do not forget His Law, the times will change over for you for good, and you will see the consolation of Zion. Because whatever is now is nothing, but that which will be is very great. For everything that is corruptible will pass away, and everything that dies will depart, and all the present time will be forgotten, nor will there be any remembrance of the present time, which is defiled with evils. For that which runs now runs into vanity, and that which prospers will quickly fall and be humiliated. But that which is to be will be the object of desire, and on that which comes afterward do we place our hope; for it is a time which will not pass away. And the hour comes which will abide forever, and the new age which does not turn to corruption those who depart to its blessedness, and has no mercy on those who depart to torment, and will not lead to perdition those who live in it. For these are they who shall inherit the time which has been spoken of and theirs is the inheritance of the promised time. These are they who have acquired for themselves treasures of wisdom, and with them are found stores of understanding, and from mercy they have not withdrawn, and the truth of the law they preserved. To them will be given the age to come, but the dwelling of the rest, who are many, will be in the fire. (44:7-15).

This passage summarizes the descriptive phrases identifying the two ages throughout II Baruch: the present age is one of vanity and corruption which must ultimately give place to the saving age to come. When the Seer wishes to distinguish more carefully the complexion of the present age, in which there have been periods of righteousness and promise, he can do so, as in the vision of the cloud with its dark and bright waters

(53-74); but he is careful to emphasize that the periods of promise have been of short duration in contrast to the dominant darkness of the present age. The present age must give way to the time of full redemption.[48]

It is significant, therefore, that the activity of the Messiah, and the inception of the Days of the Messiah as a period, are clearly assigned to the present age. The messianic era marks the final point in the present age of corruption (e.g. 40:3; 74:2). In this understanding II Baruch may appear to simply echo the affirmations of IV Ezra, but closer analysis reveals numerous differences in emphasis and detail. In IV Ezra the messianic hope was subordinated to the theocentric conception of God as ultimate Judge and the One who alone initiates the consummation. The limits of the Days of the Messiah were specified, and its character sketched succinctly. The role assigned to the Messiah was predominently passive, and scarcely articulated. Both the Messiah and his age experience death at the end of the present age. In contrast to this subordinate interest in the Messiah and role assigned to him, II Baruch displays an active interest in the

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[48] The time of the end of the present age is given cryptically in II Bar. 28:2 ("two parts a week of seven weeks"), and has called forth a number of conjectural interpretations. These are summarized conveniently by V. Ryssel in E. Kautzsch's Apokryphen und Pseudepigraphen II (1900) 422, n. e. B. Violet, op. cit., 243, understands the expression to signify two weeks of seven weeks of years each, that is, 98 years in all, from the Augustan principate, corresponding to a date ca. A.D. 100.

period of woes inaugurating the Days of the Messiah, and in the quality of life which this period introduces. The extent of that interest may be suggested from the fact that chapters 27-30, 36-40 and 53-74 are related explicitly to the Messiah.[49] The role assigned to him is not passive, but active, and is climaxed in the up-rooting of Rome and the protection of the righteous remnant found in the land in that chaotic period.[50] While the messianic age is defined as a limited period at the conclusion of the age of corruption, in contrast to IV Ezra no attempt is made to delineate the duration of this period.[51]

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[49] See on these passages X. Vallisolato, "Christologia in Apocalipsi Baruch syriaca," VD 11 (1931), 212-221.

The expression "consummation of time" or "the consummation" occurs frequently in II Baruch, and occasionally refers to the messianic age (e.g. 27:15; 29:8), but its usual reference is to the time of judgment; cf. 21:8; 22:3-8; 30:3; 42:6; 54:21; 59:4,8; 69:5; 76:2; 82:2; 83:7,22; 85:10-15.

[50] Cf. II Baruch 39:7-40:2. This war-like activity of Messiah was usually assigned to the Messiah bar Ephraim in the Rabbinic literature. See J. Bonsirven, op. cit., 1244-1246. Yet even in this detail there is a contrast in emphasis between IV Ezra and II Baruch. In IV Ezra 13:8-11, 33-38, Messiah destroys the enemies of Zion," without raising his hand, nor taking a sword nor any other weapon of war," using only the fiery breath of his mouth, i.e. his word. In II Bar. 36: 2-11; 40:1; 72 Messiah is more war-like, and 72:6 it is specified that he uses the sword to put to death the enemies of Israel.

The protection of those within the land of Israel (29:2, 40:2; 71:1) was a particular emphasis of Akiba (e.g. M. Sanh. X.3), while the attitude toward those in the dispersion is ambivalent. If they repent and hold fast to the law they may hope, but the content of that hope is never defined. See esp. II Bar. 78-86.

[51] II Baruch 40:3 is the sharpest delineation of the

What is more significant is that the Messiah does not experience death at the conclusion of this period, but rather returns in glory to heaven (30:1). Of death, or a return to the primeaval silence or chaos which precedes the new creation in IV Ezra, there is no mention. Messiah's return in glory occasions the resurrection of "all who have fallen asleep in hope of him" (30:1), which in turn signals the consummation. While the description of the Days of the Messiah in IV Ezra was vague and general, the character of this age in II Baruch is spelled out in colorful detail. It is a period of unbounded fertility and lavish luxury, in which both the land and its people experience unparalleled fruitfulness and prosperity. The fulness of the detailed description leaves little to the imagination, and contrasts sharply with the restraint so evident in the brief characterization of the Days of the Messiah in IV Ezra.[52]

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extent of the Days of the Messiah: "And his principate will stand forever, until the world of corruption is at an end, and until the times aforesaid are fulfilled." G. Dalman, "Die Baruchapokalypse," Theol. Literaturblatt 18 (1897), 179, would bracket the words following "forever" as a later addition, and would read 73:1 as follows: "And it will come to pass, when He has brought low everything that is in the world, and has sat down in peace eternally [Charles: "for the age"] on the throne of his kingdom, that joy will be revealed, and rest appear." By this means Dalman seeks to conform the teaching of II Baruch to the old two-fold structure of this age, followed by the Days of the Messiah conceived as an unending period.

[52]With IV Ezra 7:28-29 contrast II Baruch 29:3-8; 72:2-74:1. The description of the great fertility of this period

There is another significant point of difference between the teaching of these two apocalypses concerning the messianic age. In IV Ezra the Days of the Messiah are scarcely more than an extension of the messianic woes, a period of joy interrupted by death, and separated from the consummation by a period of silence. The author or school responsible for II Baruch saw greater significance in this period, however, for the Days of the Messiah not only form the end of the age of corruption but also mark the beginning of the age of incorruption.[53] This is particularly clear in the conclusion of the interpretation of the Vision of Bright and Dark Waters. When the time of the Messiah is come, he will summon the nations to judgment. Those nations which have not known Israel, or who have not harmed Israel will be spared,

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is found earlier in I Enoch 10:18-19, as well as in a tradition of Papias apud Iren. Adv. haer. v. 33, and in the Rabbinic literature, e.g. Sifré Deut. §317, end (ed. Friedmann, 136a beginning). See further J. Klausner, "Das messianische Reich und die messianischen Wunder," in Die messianischen Vorstellingen des juedischen Volkes im Zeitalter der Tannaiten (1903), 104-119; Str-B IV^2 (1928), 888-891; 948-958.

[53]This point is not sufficiently appreciated by Charles, op. cit., 40-41, who in commenting on II Bar. 21:19 ("How long will that which is corruptible remain . . . ?") states: "The whole present world, the olam hazzeh, belongs to the sphere of corruption. Even so does the Messianic kingdom if it falls within the olam hazzeh, as it does in A^1, A^2, and A^3 [27-30:1; 36-40; and 53-74 respectively] in this book." While it is true that for IV Ezra the present age ends only in death, for II Baruch the Days of the Messiah begin during the present age but introduce the saving age to come. To this extent the present age can become the sphere of definitive redemption.

while those who have subjected Israel to bondage will be slain (72:2-6). The Messiah, having subjected all things to Israel, will reign in peace, the fruit of that reign being joy, rest, the healing of every sickness and anxiety and the restoration of the conditions of paradise. The description is colored by the prophecy of Isaiah 11:6-9, for "wild beasts will come from the forest and minister unto men, and asps and dragons will come forth from their holes to submit themselves to a little child." Women will not experience pain in childbirth, nor will men grow weary from toil after labor, the curse upon man and the earth having been removed (73:1-74:1).

> For that time is the consummation of that which is corruptible, and the beginning of that which is not corruptible. Therefore those things which were promised will belong to it; therefore it is far removed from evils, and near to those things which die not. These are the last bright waters[54] which came after the last dark waters (74:2-4).

On this understanding the Days of the Messiah constitute a true bridge between the two ages, actually inaugurating the removal of pain and death which characterizes the present age and initiating the joy and fruitfulness of the age to come. In this depiction there is no characterization of the age to come, or clear indication of those qualities which distin-

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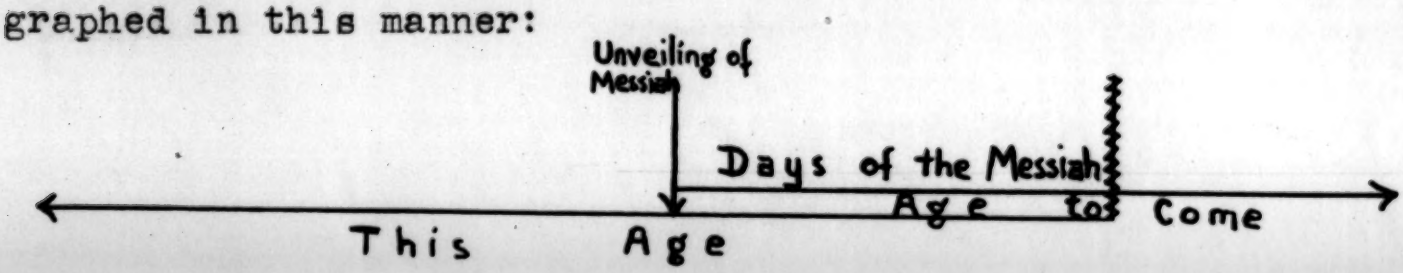
[54] Charles, op. cit., 114, 116, on II Bar. 72:1; 74:4, emends the text to read "This is the bright lightning," an emendation which has been adopted by Ryssel in Kautzsch's Apokryphen. But see the note of C. C. Torrey, The Apocryphal Literature (1945), 125f., n.110, defending the text as it stands.

guish that age from the Days of the Messiah. But it is clear that it is the Messiah who initiates the age to come. The structure of the time-line presupposed in II Baruch may be graphed in this manner:



This structure differs from that of IV Ezra by attributing a more significant function to the Days of the Messiah; they not only terminate the present age but inaugurate the age to come. This heightened function would make inappropriate the death of the Messiah or of those living in the messianic period. It may also account for the lack of specification with respect to the duration of the Days of the Messiah, for the impression conveyed is that these days simply merge with the age to come. The resurrection and final judgment provide a terminal point between the messianic period and the age to come,[55] but in respect of the quality of life the two periods appear to be sufficiently similar that the first can be said to initiate the second. In II Baruch there is a true overlapping of the two ages in the Days of the Messiah. In these

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[55]Bonsirven, op. cit., 1233 classifies II Baruch among those documents in which the resurrection begins the messianic period, citing as proof chs. 25-30, 70-74. Yet 30:1 explicitly pin-points the resurrection after the close of the messianic era, when the Messiah has returned to heaven in glory, while in 70-74 there is no mention of resurrection.

emphases II Baruch presents a pattern of periodization which more closely approximates the patterns attested in early Rabbinic statements from the Jamnia period. It may be possible to define more carefully the purpose and the presuppositions underlying this corrected pattern, which may be tentatively associated with the school of Akiba, once the evidence for historical motivation of periodization stemming from the Jamnia circle has been set forth. It seems evident at this point that the pattern of II Baruch reflects a more developed stage in early Jewish periodization of traditional eschatological hopes than that underlying the Ezra Apocalypse. In IV Ezra the present age, including the Days of the Messiah, cannot be the period of full redemption. But in II Baruch redemption is clearly initiated with the unveiling of the Messiah.

Both Apocalypses, stemming broadly from the same period of national crisis, respond to that crisis through an affirmation of eschatological convictions. What may be significant is that both IV Ezra and II Baruch, while affirming the traditional two-age structure, modify that structure through periodization. That the degree and pattern of modification differs is not surprizing since these works reflect the influence of rival schools of interpretation. Nevertheless, they are in essential agreement that the older structure of eschatological hope for Israel needed to be replaced by a

more intelligible pattern of expectation. It will be important to remember the details of this new pattern, and to seek a reasonable explanation for the direction in which periodization was employed to bring old hopes into conformity with contemporary realities.

B. The Tannaitic Tradition

To the crisis which had been precipitated by the failure in 70 A.D. of the revolt against Rome the Tannaim responded in a significant way. Some two years earlier the head of the vanishing peace-party within Jerusalem, Rabbi Joḥanan ben Zakkai, had left the city and secured Roman permission to establish an academy in Jamnia, within the coastal plain of Sharon.[56] The choice of Jamnia was strategic. The town itself had remained loyal to the Romans, and Vespasion had already begun to populate it with deserters from the Jewish ranks. It was an important commercial center, with a port of its own, and was situated among the most fertile and desireable land in Palestine. What was more significant, it was to this district that many refugees from Jerusalem would inevitably turn after the city was destroyed. The rich coastal plain gave promise of subsistance, and within a short

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[56] b. Gittin 56a,b; Echa Rabbati I. 5; Aboth de R. Nathan IV, and for the danger involved in the decision to leave the city, Josephus, B. J. IV. vi. 3. See further Finkelstein, op. cit., 60-67; Schlatter, op. cit., 61-68.

distance of Jamnia was the city of Ludd, where many could find employment. The neighboring villages of Gimzo, Bene Barak, and Emmaus had been little affected by the war, and offered shelter to those who fled from the siege and destruction. With foresight Johanan saw that this district was capable of being the future center of Judea and of Judaism.[57] In Jamnia he either purchased or obtained a vineyard which would serve as a place of assembly for scholars and their pupils. When two years later Jerusalem was in flame everything had been prepared at Jamnia to receive the refugee students and teachers. Jamnia became the center from which the consolidation of Judaism took place. And, through a bold act of Johanan's,[58] the official seat of the Beth-Din,

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[57] On Jamnia see J. Spitz, op. cit., 29-36; Finkelstein, op. cit., 68f., and esp. W. M. Christie, "The Jamnia Period in Jewish History," JTS 26 (1925), 347f., with the references cited there.

[58] Johanan declared the assembly at Jamnia to be the true Sanhedrin of all Israel through a point of halakah connected with a practical issue, the sounding of the ram's horn on New Year's Day. Traditionally the shofar could be sounded in Temple and synagogue, with one important exception: the Temple ritual was carried out whether New Year's Day occurred on the Sabbath or within the week; the synagogue service could be observed only if the New Year's Day fell within the week. At Jamnia the New Year's Day fell on the Sabbath. If the shofar were sounded at the New Year's Services, as had been done in Jerusalem at the Temple, that would be equivalent to a formal declaration that Jamnia had replaced Jerusalem as the center of Judaism. When Jerusalem priests, jealous for the prerogatives of the (now destroyed) Temple, objected to Johanan's intention, he refused to consider the issue until the services were concluded. "We will sound the shofar, then we will discuss the Law," he answered. When the

replacing the great Sanhedrin of Jerusalem in the promulgation of halakah. With the exception of a brief period in 117 A.D., when the court moved to Usha,[59] Jamnia was the focal-point for reconstruction during the important period 70-135 A.D.

The halakic decisions of the Tannaim of the second and third generation were of crucial significance for the consolidation of Pharisaic or Tannaitic Judaism.[60] Nevertheless, they lie beyond the scope of this investigation, which must be concerned with the haggadic activity of the Jamnia circle and specifically with the expression of traditional hopes through the vehicle of midrash haggadah. In the realm of the haggadah two distinctive approaches were developed, which have become associated with the names of Rabbi Ishmael[61]

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services were concluded, and the priests attempted to reopen the argument, Johanan replied, "The shofar has sounded in Jamnia; a precedent has been established; there is no further room for debate." With this act Johanan endowed the new assembly with the ritual prerogatives of the old Sanhedrin. See M. Rosh Ha-Shanah IV.1; b. Rosh Ha-Shanah 21b, discussed by Schlatter, op. cit., 68-71; Finkelstein, op. cit., 69f.

[59] See on 117 A.D. Dio Cassius LVIII (the war of Quietus), and from the Jewish side Finkelstein, op. cit., 227-336, with the Rabbinic references cited there; L. Lewin, Rabbi Simon ben Yochai (1893), 23.

[60] See e.g. J. Spitz, "Die Verordnungen (תקנות) des R. Johanan," op. cit., 36-45.

[61] On R. Ishmael see M. Petuchowski, Der Tanna Rabbi Ismael (1894); W. Bacher, Die Agada der Tannaiten I (1884), 240ff.; Finkelstein, op. cit., 158f., 201f., 222-230; Christie, op. cit., 351f. R. Ishmael had his own school, whose

and Rabbi Akiba.[62] Ishmael learned from his teacher, Nehuniah ben Hakkana, the seven rules of interpretation laid down by Hillel, which he refined and extended through modification and explanation to the number thirteen. His major principle, however, was that Scripture speaks in the language of men.[63] Accordingly he was indifferent to the individual words and possible word-combinations within the text, and sought to explain the biblical text according to the peshaṭ, its plain sense, without seeking for any hidden meaning which was to be recovered by exegetical ingenuity. His purpose was to understand logically the literal and certain meaning of the text of Scripture. His opponent, R. Akiba, approached the text with an entirely different hermeneutic. Developing the exegetical technique of his teacher, R. Naḥum of Gimzo, every minute detail of Scripture was seen to be laden with significance.

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teachings in Talmud Babli are introduced by the formula תנא ברי' ר' ישמעאל, and in Jerushalmi and the midrashim by תנ' ר' ישמעאל. For Ishmael as a master of haggadah see b. Mo'ed Katan 26b, and the exposition of Petuchowski, op. cit., 49-69.

[62] On R. Akiba see the work esp. of Finkelstein, op. cit., passim, but also I. Gastfreund, Bibliographie des R. Akiba (1871); W. Bacher, op. cit., I (1884), 271-348; Rosenthal, op. cit., 95-103, 124-131; Christie, op. cit., 348-356, 359, 363f.; A. Guttmann, "Akiba, 'Rescuer of the Torah,'" HUCA 17 (1942-43), 395-421.

[63] דברה תורה בלשון בני אדם, e.g. j. Yeb.viii, 8d; j. Ned. i. 36c; b. Ber. 31b; Sifré Num. to 15:27; Sifré Deut. to 11:14. Cf. W. Bacher, Die exegetische Terminologie der juedischen Traditionsliteratur I (1898), 98. On the thirteen rules, with an illustration of each see Petuchowski, op. cit., 81-93.

This included seemingly superfluous letters or expressions, and especially the use of the infinitive absolute with the verb, and the Hebrew particles גם, את, אף, בל, רק, כן, אך. The major principle of Akiba was that of extension and limitation: the presence of a seemingly unnecessary word or letter is an indication that an extension or a limitation of the literal meaning of text is implied. By the application of this principle regulations which could not be derived from the plain text were obtained.[64]

Both R. Ishmael and R. Akiba were the heads of important schools during the Jamnia period. It is commonly accepted that the Mekhilta and Sifré Deuteronomy, with the exception of chapters 12-26, incorporate the midrash halakah and midrash haggadah of the School of Ishmael, while the Sifra, Sifré Numbers and Sifré Deuteronomy, ch. 12-26, contain the midrashic labors in halakah and haggadah by the School of Akiba. Critical investigation of the Tannaitic midrashim has shown that the matter is more complex than this sharp distinction would suggest,[65] but the diametrically opposed ap-

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[64] W. M. Christie, op. cit., 351f.; Finkelstein, op. cit., 171ff., 308-12. We read of Akiba studying all of the את's and גם's in the Bible (b. Sheb. 26a; Gen. Rabbah I); for application of the principle to גם in Num. 18:28; to את in Deut. 10:20; and to אך in Ex. 31:13 see b. Pes. 22b; Yoma 85b; Kidd. 41b, respectively.

[65] See the discussion of D. Hoffmann, Zur Einleitung in die halachischen Midraschim (1887); and esp. C. Albeck, Untersuchung ueber die halachischen Midraschim (1927), who

proaches to Scripture should be remembered when treating haggadah from the Jamnia period.

Within the haggadah from the Jamnia circle the traditional two-fold understanding of the time-table persists, and is frequently given exegetical support by the form of the text. A typical example is the midrash on Ex. 13:19, "God will surely remember you."

> God will surely remember you. He will remember you in Egypt and He will remember you at the sea. He will remember you at the sea and he will remember you in the wilderness. He will remember you in the wilderness and he will remember you at the rivers of Arnon. He will remember you in this age and he will also remember you in the age to come.[66]

The text of Ex. 13:19 reads פקוד יפקוד אלהים אתכם, and the exegesis turns on understanding the infinitive absolute פקוד as indicating another act besides the one signified by the finite verb. In this reading of the text the hermeneutical approach of Akiba and his school is clearly evident; the progression in the text from the deliverance from Egypt to the ultimate deliverance in the age to come is also a typical theme of Akiba's.[67] In an almost incidental way the two-age structure is affirmed under suggestion from the form of the

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distinguishes the sources of the Tannaitic midrashim by characteristic expressions, idiom and abbreviations.

[66]Mekhilta to Ex. 13:19 (ed. Horowitz-Rabin, p.80).

[67]E.g. M. Pes. X.6; Pesiqta Rabbati I (ed. Friedmann, 4a); Midrash Tehillim 90:17 (ed. Buber, 197a) and often. See Str-B II (1924), 256; III (1926), 827; IV (1928), 817.

text. A second example may be given from the Mishnah tractate Berakoth, where a controversy between Ben Zoma (c.110 A.D.), an older disciple of Akiba's, and other sages is recorded. The point of debate is whether the section on fringes (Num. 15:37-41), containing a reference to the Exodus from Egypt, should also be recited in the evening prayer. From the word "all" (כל) in the text, "that you may remember the day when you came forth out of the land of Egypt all the days of your life" (Deut. 16:3), Ben Zoma deduced that the passage on Fringes is to be recited at evening prayer as well. The sages, however, meet Ben Zoma on his own ground, and find a different significance in the כל:

> But the Sages say, The days of your life would mean this age only, but all the days of your life is to include the Days of the Messiah.[68]

This is the text of the argument not only in separate editions of the Mishnah, but also in the Mishnah text of the Babylonian Talmud and, with slight variations in the Mekhilta, Sifré and the Tosephta as well.[69] However, in the Mishnah recorded in the Jerusalem Talmud there is a significant variant:

> But the Sages say, The days of your life would mean this age only, but all the days of your life means the age to

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[68] M. Ber. I.5.

[69] b. Ber. 12b; Mekhilta to Ex. 13:13 (ed. Horowitz-Rabin, p.60); Sifré Deut. to 16:30, §130; Tos. Ber.I.10.

come, including the days of the Messiah.[70]

The exegetical foundation to the midrash is the presence of the word כל, which indicates to the scholars influenced by Akiba that a general proposition is to be deduced from the text beyond its specific statement. Both Ben Zoma and the anonymous Sages approach the text with this presupposition. To Ben Zoma כל indicates that the Exodus is to be rehearsed not only in the daytime, as the text specifies, but also at night, in the evening prayer. The Sages, however, reflect on the redemptive overtones in the Exodus, and argue that the extension of the specific provision includes the Days of the Messiah, or the Age to come. The significance of the tradition recorded in the Jerusalem Talmud is that it clarifies the ambiguous reference to ימות המשיח, and affirms that the Days of the Messiah cannot be distinguished from the age to come. It is the two-fold structure of Israel's hope which is affirmed.

With this creative philology of Akiba and his school Ishmael had little patience, and the sources record his objection to such treatment of the text. One account is of particularly importance for the light it sheds on haggadic concern with Israel's hope. The midrash is on Num. 15:31,

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[70] M. Ber.I.8 in W. H. Lowe (ed.), The Mishnah on which the Palestinian Talmud Rests (1883), 1a: וחכמים אומרו ימי מייך בעולם הזה כל ימי מייך להבא את ימות המשיח:

"That soul shall be utterly cut off."

> That soul shall be utterly cut off. The first word (הכרת) refers to this age, and the second (תכרת) to the age to come. So R. Akiba. R. Ishmael said to him: You may as well add the words in the preceding verse, and that soul shall be cut off (נכרתה), and say that there are three "cuttings off" from three ages! The Torah speaks in the tongues of men.71

The biblical text plainly speaks of the cutting off from life of the man who despises the word of the Lord; but from the presence of the infinitive with the imperfect, הכרת תכרת, Akiba deduces that a second cutting off is indicated, namely from the age to come. In objecting to this fanciful exegesis Ishmael affirms the principle that "the Torah speaks in the tongues of men," that is that הכרת תכרת is only an idiom. To reduce Akiba's strained logic to absurdity he reminds his opponent that verse 30 speaks of a cutting-off, נכרתה, and adds, "you may as well speak about three cuttings off from three ages." He rejects in toto the exegesis of Akiba, but what is more significant he also rejects the concept of three ages. This is an important consideration, for contemporary with the Jamnia period there are midrashim which distinguish between this age and the days of the Messiah on the one hand, and the days of the Messiah from the age to come on the other. The traditional two-age structure is replaced by a three-age structure in these midrashim, and in time it

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[71] Sifré Num. to 15:31, §112.

is this understanding which became normative in Rabbinic circles. The fact that Ishmael alludes to the concept of three ages as the height of absurdity suggests that it is not to him and his school that one is to turn for the source of the three-age modification of traditional conceptions about the Days of the Messiah and the age to come, but rather to the School of Akiba.

It is from the early Jamnia period that the first intimations of the new understanding come and, like the traditional two-fold structure, they are supported exegetically. The Shammaite, R. Eliezer ben Hyrkanus, in a comment on Ex. 16:25, appears to assume the new approach. The verse reads, "And Moses said, Eat that today; for today is a sabbath unto the Lord: today you shall not find it in the field." The reference is to the manna, but the presence of three references to "today" (היום) suggested to the Tannaim that three different days were meant.[72]

> R. Eliezer says: If you will succeed in keeping the Sabbath you will escape the three visitations: from the day of Gog, from the birth pangs of the Messiah, and from the day of great judgment. In this sense it is said: "Eat that Today."[73]

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[72] E.g. Mekhilta to 16:25 (ed. Horowitz-Rabin, p.169), where R. Joshua finds reference to the Passover, Pentecost and Tabernacles.

[73] Mekhilta to 16:25 (ed. Horowitz-Rabin, p.169), and to 16:30 (ed. Horowitz-Rabin, p.170) where the order is slightly different.

The three-fold occurrence of היום in Ex. 16:25 has an eschatological overtone for Eliezer, היום של גוג, היומות המשיח and היום הדין הגדול. What underlies this suggestion is a conception in which the days of the Messiah precede the day of judgment which initiates the age to come. What is only implied in the dictum of Eliezer is made explicit in a midrashic interpretation of Ex. 17:16 in Targum Jerusalem I. The passage speaks of Israel's enemy, Amalek, and promises, "the Lord will have war with Amalek מדר דר." The Targum reads:

> The Memra of the Lord has sworn from the throne of his glory that he himself will carry on a war with the house of Amalek and that he will destroy him in three generations: in the generation of this age and in the generation of the Messiah and in the generation of the age to come.

Amalek is seen as the eschatological enemy of Israel, who will be judged and consumed in the generation of the Messiah and in the age to come as well as in this age. The three-fold structure of the time-line is assumed in this passage even as it is implied in the interpretation of Eliezer.

The reference to the generation of the Messiah recalls the fact that it is to Tannaim of the second and third generation, that is to Tannaim of the Jamnia period, that are attributed the haggadic statements which specify the duration of the days of the Messiah.[74] The conception of a messianic

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[74] See above pp.237-240 and nn. 29-36. See further Str-B III (1926), 824f.

age of limited duration is associated with names of Eliezer ben Hyrcanus, Eleazar ben Azariah, Akiba, Jose the Galilean, Dosa and others, but with no Tanna from the period of the Second Temple. To the instances cited above may be added the following baraitha:

> Our Tanna has said: the days of the Messiah will last for 2000 years . . . , and after the days of the Messiah there will arrive the age to come.[75]

The clue to a nearer identification of the Tanna may lie in the fact that the days of the Messiah are designated as lasting for 2000 years. This reference suggests another baraitha which is introduced by the rubric, "the Tanna debe Eliyyahu:"

> The Tanna debe Eliyyahu taught: The age is to exist 6000 years: the first 2000 years are to be chaos; the next 2000 years are the period of Torah; and the next 2000 years are the days of the Messiah.[76]

Although the meaning of תנא דבי אליהו is not certain,[77] the

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[75] Tanchuma B, עקב (ed. Buber 7b).

[76] b. Sanh. 97b; ʿAbodah Zarah 9b; cf. Sedar Eliahu Rabba II (ed. Friedmann, p.6) where there is an instructive example of how provision was made in the literature for delay in expectation. The passage reads as the baraitha found in the Talmud, with this addition, "Because our sins have multiplied, a period of servitude has encroached upon the period of the Messiah and has lessened it by more than 700 years." See the commentaries by M. Friedmann, Seder Eliahu Rabba and Seder Eliahu Zuṭa (1902), p.6 ad loc, and מבוא, pp.106-110; and M. Kadushin, The Theology of Seder Eliahu (1932), 4f., 101-105. For a periodization in terms of a three-fold pattern in which all of time is viewed in terms of three days, one day being this age, the second day being the days of the Messiah followed by the third day, the age to come initiated by the resurrection, see Tanna debe Eliayyahu, p.29.

[77] See the discussion of Kadushin, op. cit., 3-8.

baraitha appears to be quite early, and may tentatively be assigned to the Jamnia period with Friedmann, Billerbeck, and Davies.[78] The passage is based upon a conception of an age-week of seven millenia, corresponding to the week of creation. On the basis of the verse, "A thousand years in thy sight are but as yesterday" (Ps. 95:4) the pattern was projected that an age of 6000 years would be followed by a sabbatic age, the age to come.[79] In the passage from the Tanna debe Eliyyahu the messianic age is merely a period within the present age, and is sharply distinguished from the sabbath rest, the age to come. The passage is interesting for its periodization of the present age into three periods, with the days of the Messiah merely terminating the present age, and distinguished from the age to come. This is the pattern found in IV Ezra as well,[80] and is a mark of early periodization of more traditional eschatological schemes.

The exegetical ingenuity which could be mustered in

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[78]The Tanna distinctly claims to have come from Jamnia in Seder Eliahu Rabba (ed. Friedmann, p. 95, 168). For a discussion of date supporting this claim see Friedmann's מבוא to Seder Eliahu Rabbah; Str-B. IV (1928), 828; W. D. Davies, Torah in the Messianic Age and/or the Age to Come (1952), 78f. For a dissenting voice, Kadushin, op. cit., 13-16.

[79]Cf. M. Tamid VII.4; b. Rosh Ha-Shanah 31a (Bar.); San. 97a (Bar.). See further K. Koehler, "Eschatology," JE V (1903), 211.

[80]See above pp. 232-243.

support of the new threefold structure of Israel's hope may be illustrated from a midrash attributed to R. Judah ben Ilai, one of the younger disciples of Akiba.

> R. Judah said: The harp in the temple had seven strings, as it is written (Ps. 16:11), In thy presence is שבע of joy. Do not read שִׂבַע (fulness) but שֶׁבַע (seven).[81] The harp of the days of the Messiah will have eight strings, as it is written (Ps.12:1), For the Leader[82] עַל־הַשְּׁמִינִית (that is, upon the eighth [string]. But the harp of the age to come will have ten strings, as it is written (Ps. 92:4), With an instrument of ten strings, and with psaltery; with a solemn sound upon the harp.[83]

The passage is a display of exegetical skill, with word-plays worthy of his master, but clearly and sharply distinguishes the present age (the period of the Temple), the days of the Messiah and the age to come. This distinction becomes exceedingly common in the following periods and is met in many midrashic contexts. A Baraitha interprets Ruth 2:14, "And she did eat and was satisfied and left thereof," in terms of the repeated waw consecutive:

> And she did eat in this age, and was satisfied in the days of the Messiah, and left thereof for the future to

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[81] On this hermeneutical device see A. Rosenzweig, "Die Al-tikri-Deutungen," in Festschrift I. Lewy (1911), 211ff.

[82] The Tanna interprets למנצח in the heading to the psalm not as the leader of the Temple choir but as a sovereign leader, the Messiah. For other examples where this word is interpreted as signifying "conquorer" see b. Sanh. 91a; Baba Metzia 59b. See further Klausner, op. cit., 20, n.3.

[83] b. 'Arak. 13b; Tos. 'Arak. II. 7; Pesiqta Rabbati XXI (ed. Friedmann, 98b-99a).

come.[84]

Here לעתיד לבוא is separated from ימות המשיח, which in turn is distinguished from העולם הזה. Similar in content is the midrash on Deut. 11:21 recorded in the Sifré:

> May your days be long in this age, and the days of your children, in the days of the Messiah, as the days of heaven above the earth, in the age to come.[85]

That not all Tannaim were willing to adopt the newer understanding, even though in principle the exegetical approach which undergirded it was accepted, may be indicated by the following baraitha, which discusses the verse, "He covers him all the day, and dwells between his shoulders" (Deut.33:12).

> This is a controversy of Tannaim: He covers him, this alludes to the first Temple; all the day, to the second Temple; and he dwells between his shoulders, to the days of the Messiah. Rabbi said: He covers him refers to this age; all the day to the days of the Messiah; and he dwells between his shoulders, to the age to come.[86]

The first midrash turns on the verbs ישכן and שכן in Deut. 33:12, which suggests the term משכן, a common designation for the Temple. The promise with respect to the first Temple is extended to the period of the second Temple on the basis of the כל in the expression כל היום, while the promise to dwell between his shoulders is understood of the days of the Messiah. The present age can be periodized in terms of

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[84] b. Shab. 113b (Bar.).

[85] Sifré Deut. to 11:21, §47.

[86] b. Zebaḥim 118b (Bar.).

the first and second Temples, but it is basically the two-age structure which is supported, this age followed by the days of the Messiah. Rabbi Judah ha-Nasi, the head of the Tannaim of the fifth generation, expresses the more dominant conception of three successive stages in the structure of history and the consummation.

The three age structure increasingly displaced the earlier, and more traditional two-age structure until in the Amoraic period it is the dominant conception found in the material.[87] It is from this period that the dictum was enunciated that all the prophets spoke with respect to the days of the Messiah, but as for the age to come "eye has not seen nor ear heard what the Lord has prepared for them who wait for him" (Isa. 64:4).[88] By the time of Maimonides the two age structure was living only in isolated pockets of Jewry, like the primitive Yemenite Jews, concerning whom Maimonides wrote, "They interchange the age to come and the days of the Messiah."[89]

Within the Jamnia period, however, the traditional two-age structure and the three-age structure are found side

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[87] See the evidence marshalled in Str-B IV (1928), 818, 826-30.

[88] b. Ber. 34b; Sanh. 99a, ascribed to R. Johanan of the second generation of Amoraim.

[89] See Letters of Maimonides (ed. D. Z. Baneth), Fasc. 1 (1946), 66.

by side, and the same Tanna may express the hope of Israel in terms of both structures. What needs to be defined is the reason why a new pattern was introduced in this period, and why it became increasingly the dominant pattern in Tannaitic and certainly Amoraic circles. What self-consciousness is being expressed in the new pattern which was inadequately expressed in the earlier schemes? It is not as clear in the Tannaitic haggadoth that the new pattern is closely associated with the failure of the Revolt and the destruction of Jerusalem and the Temple as it is in IV Ezra and II Baruch. But one thing that is clear is that the new pattern marks in some sense a step backward. In the two-age structure there was no articulation of how far forward Israel stood on the time-line of God's redemptive program, whether the climax of the program was seen in terms of the days of the Messiah or the age to come. But in the new pattern there is no longer any room for speculation on this point. Israel stands firmly planted in this age, and between this point and the culmination of her hopes in the age to come there is interposed the days of the Messiah, <u>which in most representations also belong to this age</u>. Yet for Israel these days are yet future. What has happened is that the duration of the present age has been seen in a new perspective as stretched out, putting Israel one step backward from the goal of her hopes, the age to come. Or to view this in other terms, Israel now realizes

that the messianic age does not constitute the culmination of her hopes. The significance of this pattern of expectation as well as that of the overlapping ages in II Baruch needs to be defined more carefully. The self-consciousness expressed in the periodization of the traditional hopes of Israel, and the presentation of a neglected factor which stimulated this modification in eschatological conception will be set forth in the final chapter, which is concerned with periodization as a theological principle.

CHAPTER V

THE THEOLOGICAL SIGNIFICANCE OF PERIODIZATION

In the examination of expressions of periodization within the New Testament it was shown that the periodization of inherited eschatological hopes was related to intensely practical considerations. The presentation of a periodized hope within the context of a demand for repentance made this particularly clear, as does the element of delay which is built into the structure of the hope proclaimed. It should also be clear that periodization is to be associated with theological considerations which illumine the self-consciousness of the community which stands behind the proclamation. This is true whether it be the primitive Christian Community, an apocalyptic sectarian community like that at Qumran or the Tannaim who sat together in the Jamnia conclave. It is this self-consciousness which needs to be articulated in the light of the evidence which has been presented for the periodization of traditional eschatological hopes.

A. <u>The Primitive Christian Community</u>

One of the most unusual expressions of periodization

within the New Testament, containing elements which are genuinely primitive, is Acts 3:19-21 which distinguishes between "the times of refreshment" and "the times of establishing all that God spoke through the mouth of his holy prophets." Accordingly, it is within the framework of the speech recorded in Acts 3, in which these elements are embedded, that there should be sought the larger theological implications of periodization as an expression of the self-consciousness of the primitive Jerusalem Community.

Isolated from its immediate context within the speech, Acts 3:19-20 was found to speak of the in-breaking of a period in which the new age manifests itself in an anticipatory way through the Holy Spirit who has been given to the Community. To express the consciousness of the Community to the Spirit's presence appeal was made to an interpretive tradition of Isa. 32:15 which understood the promised "Spirit from on high" in terms of eschatological refreshment. In the invitation for Israel to repent, and to experience the times of refreshment which the Community already knows, there is implied by the Christians an awareness of having inherited the promises made to the remnant of Israel through the prophets (vv.22-26). In terms of self-consciousness, the Jerusalem Community understands itself to be a community of the Spirit, constituted through the creative presence of the Spirit. The fulfilment of the prophetic Scriptures within the experience

of the Community is the seal of the eschatological character of the messianic fellowship in which the Spirit dwells. It is the presence of the Holy Spirit within the Community together with the delay of the consummation which forces the recognition that a new advance had been made upon the eschatological time-table. The Community has entered into a period in which the powers of the age to come have broken through into this age. This recognition resulted in the periodization of more traditional structures in which the general bestowal of the Spirit would accompany the consummation. To express the self-consciousness of having advanced significantly within the eschatological time-table the Community spoke of a period of refreshment which fulfills the old order and anticipates the consummation. The fulfilment of the prophetic Scriptures and the presence of the Spirit were eschatological phenomena, which invited the Community to articulate its self-consciousness through the corporate and eschatological associations still discernable in the Greek term ἀνάψυξις.[1]

It is necessary, however, to restore Acts 3:19-21 to its immediate context within the speech of Peter to discern the messianic implications in primitive Christian periodization. Within the speech Jesus is presented as the Servant of

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[1]See above pp.162-181.

the Lord whom God has honored (vv.13-15) and as the Mosaic eschatological Prophet through whom God has spoken (vv.22-23). Only in terms of the parousia at the consummation is there reference to Jesus as the Messiah whose sending initiates the Days of the Messiah (vv.20-21). This distinction between Servant-Prophet on the one hand and Messiah on the other appears studied and deliberate. There is an element of subordination integral to each of the three titles, but in the title "Messiah" there is prominent also the element of sovereignty. The Community now knows Jesus as the Messiah (v.18), but not until the parousia will his sovereignty be displayed for all to behold. When the Messiah who has been appointed for Israel is unveiled it will be Jesus, whom Israel had not recognized and had rejected. To express the distinction between Jesus as he became known during the course of his ministry, only partially unveiled, and the way in which he is now known within the Community, there is sustained the distinction between Jesus as a messianic figure and Jesus as the Messiah. The Servant of the Lord, or the Mosaic eschatological Prophet, is a messianic figure, but he does not openly display the sovereignty associated with Messiah. While the Community now knows who Jesus really is, those whom they address do not. In addressing a people who yet judge from outside the messianic fellowship it is appropriate to speak of the Servant or of the Prophet. In terms

of the consummation, however, it is made clear that Jesus will be known for what he really is, the Messiah appointed for Israel.

From this distinctions observed within the speech, it appears that the context in which primitive Christian periodization of traditional hopes took place was theological in a narrow sense. Periodization gave expression to new understandings concerning the identity of Jesus and concerning the presence of the Spirit within the Community, together with the recognition that the parousia and consummation yet lay in the future. Through the Spirit the consummation was manifesting itself in an anticipatory way, in times of refreshment for the Community. When there was reflection on the consummation it was in terms of the Messiah who would lend distinctive color to this period. It would be the Days of the Messiah which would follow the times of refreshment, when all men would come to know, in vindication or in judgment, what the Community now knows concerning Jesus. A heightened messianism is expressed through periodization within the primitive Church.

This understanding of the consummation in terms of the Days of the Messiah appears to be distinctively Palestinian, as it is shared also by the independent tradition of Palestinian periodization found in the Freer Logion.[2] In

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[2]See above pp.186-195.

communities outside of Palestine, to judge by I Cor. 15:20-28, this tradition was not maintained. Paul sees the present period, inaugurated by the resurrection of Jesus, as the Days of the Messiah which will be terminated at the consummation, to be followed by the Kingdom of God.[3] Both Paul and the Jerusalem Community agreed that the period into which the Church had entered was one into which the new age had broken in a proleptic way; but the incidence of the Days of the Messiah in these two early patterns of Christian periodization indicate an independence in approach and emphasis. In the consciousness of being the Community of the Spirit who knows the identity of the Messiah the Jerusalem Community periodized more traditional patterns of hope to make provision for the times of refreshment which were an anticipation and a pledge of the new age, the Days of the Messiah.

B. The Jewish Tradition

In the Jewish material, and especially in the Tannaitic tradition, there is reflected a concern with periodization in isolated statements divorced from a larger context. The theological and historical factors which motivated this concern may be recovered only through an analysis of elusive fragments now scattered in various collections of first and second century materials. Evidence has been presented in

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[3] See above pp. 206-218.

Chapter IV that those forces which plunged Judea and Galilee into the suicidal struggle of the First Revolt, with its aftermath of humiliation and costly defeat, have left their imprint upon the contemporary records of the ensuing decades. The evidence must be supplemented with additional source material which contributes to a reconstruction of the larger context in which periodization took place.

The historical approach has not been pursued widely in seeking to account for the distinction between the Days of the Messiah and the Age to Come in Tannaitic tradition from the Jamnia period and later. It has rather been assumed that the threefold structure of this age, the Days of the Messiah, followed by the age to come is the result of harmonizing two earlier patterns of thought. Earlier materials from both the apocalyptic and Tannaitic traditions contain time structures in which either the Days of the Messiah or the age to come may be juxtaposed antithetically to the present age as a proper term for the consummation. When in the late first century, it is supposed, it became desirable to impose a greater uniformity upon expressions of hope the two schemes were harmonized by regarding the Days of the Messiah as a temporal period preceding the age to come.[4] On this view

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[4]See R. H. Charles, A Critical History of the Doctrine of a Future Life in Israel, in Judaism and in Christianity (1899), 162,305; Str-B IV (1928), 799f.; A. Schweitzer, The Mysticism of Paul the Apostle (1931), 75f.; W. D. Davies,

there is little real theological significance to periodization and only slight significance to the historical circumstances in which the assumed harmonization of two earlier patterns of thought took place.

An alternate proposal was advanced in 1936 by Dr. Louis Finkelstein, but has received little attention. Finkelstein pointed to the importance of the years A.D.110-112, during which there was a great concern for the restoration of the Temple. According to a popular legend the Temple would be in ruins for a jubilee, that is from A.D.70-119. As the terminal point of the jubilee advanced, there was set in motion significant forces which quickened the hopes of the Jews that the Temple might be rebuilt. Trajan was preparing to undertake his expedition against the Parthians. He would need the full support of the provinces, but especially of those nearest to the scene of conflict, including Judea. In addition, there was a large settlement of Jews living under Parthian rule in Babylonia whose support was not unimportant to Trajan. The records of this period are exceedingly meager, and offer no certain evidence concerning the negotiations which must have preceded the course of events. But on the eve of Trajan's campaign, "the Jewish world was startled

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Paul and Rabbinic Judaism^2 (1955), 287f.; M. Smith, "What is Implied by the Variety of Messianic Figures?" JBL 78 (1959), 68, among others.

by an imperial pronouncement permitting the restoration of the sacrificial service in Jerusalem, and placing the proselyte Aquila in charge of the reconstruction of the Temple."[5] The announcement was made on the twelfth of Adar, immediately before the festivals commemorating the decisive victory of the Maccabees over the Seleucid general Nicanor and the providential deliverance of the Jews from the murderous intentions of Haman. To Finkelstein the selection of this date betrays the hand of the Tannaitic scholars who must have carried on the negotiations with the Romans and who intended that this anniversary be joined to Nicanor's Day and Purim in a continuing three-day festival. This was effected when the Jamnia conclave voted to make the twelfth of Adar a permanent half-holiday designated as Trajan's Day. Finkelstein says:

> To Akiba and many others it seemed that the messianic era was at hand, but it was taking a form different from what had been expected. There was no miraculous appearance of the son of David or of Elijah the Prophet, there was no resurrection of the dead, or day of divine judgment. The obvious explanation was that the messianic era had been wrongly confused with the Future World, the עולם הבא, which was in reality quite distinct from it. The two were to be carefully distinguished hereafter; the Messiah would usher in the freedom of Jerusalem and the Jews; the world cataclysm would be brought about by no human agency, but by God himself. Estimates regarding the probable length of the messianic era now became popular preoccupation. Eliezer ben Hyrkanos, in his retirement, gave his opinion that it would last three generations. Akiba, however, would not give up the hope that his own generation would see the revelation of the divine glory. "The messianic age will last forty years, as it is written in the prayer

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[5] L. Finkelstein, Akiba (1936), 219.

> of Moses, 'Make us glad according to the years wherein we have seen evil' (Ps.90:15)." The statement as it stands is a childish fancy, of a type foreign to Akiba's mind. Seen in the context of the times it assumes serious meaning. It was a cryptic reference to a hope which Akiba, now a responsible statesman, dared not voice openly. Forty years had in fact passed since the destruction of the Temple. The next forty years were to be a happy messianic prelude to the Future World.[6]

According to Finkelstein, this course of events quickened national hopes and occasioned a fresh understanding of the function of the Days of the Messiah as compared with the age to come. The distinction between these two periods was the result of reflection upon the difference in their function, together with an anticipation of the fulfilment of popular hopes quickened by the edict of Trajan.

This proposal merits attention for seeking to relate the periodization of the earlier hopes to an historical framework which can be reconstructed in detail. The very concreteness with which this proposal may be advanced is a decided advantage over the more usual assumption of the harmonization of two competing schemes. Moreover, it accounts well for the fact that Akiba gave political significance to messianism not only in 117 but in 132-135 A.D. By keeping the Days of the Messiah apart from the age to come, to which ultimate significance was given, the Days of the Messiah were released for a political but penultimate significance. Finkelstein's recon-

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[6] Ibid., 220. See the entire discussion, pp.215-228, 313-316, with the references cited there.

struction provides well for this element in the material.

There are other strands of evidence, however, which provide a basis for a new working hypothesis, which seeks more adequately to account for the direction in which periodization was employed to bring old hopes into conformity with contemporary realities. Periodization invariably meant within a Pharisaic framework the relegating of the Days of the Messiah to a period of penultimate significance. In IV Ezra, and in the Tannaitic tradition influenced by Johanan ben Zakkai, it also implied that the time of definitive salvation could not be the Days of the Messiah but must delay until God initiated the Age to Come. Any new proposal must seek to take account of these factors, together with the evidence that it is in the early Jamnia period that, for the first time apparently, periodization of inherited eschatological hopes is noted within the sources. The evidence suggests that a significant element which lies behind periodization among the Tannaim of the Jamnia circle and later is a decreased confidence in messianism <u>per se</u>, as a result of the repeated frustration of hopes which were laden with messianic overtones, and more specifically of those hopes associated with the First Revolt against Rome. The experience of the years A.D.116-117, particularly in Cyprus and Egypt, and of 132-135 in Israel could only confirm the impression that ultimate deliverance would come, not through the Messiah, but

through the intervention of God alone. Adherence to the biblical tradition did not allow the messianic hope to be set aside. By relegating the Days of the Messiah to a penultimate position for some Tannaim like Akiba, they could again assume political importance. But for others they became less significant. They may signal the birthpangs which precede the time of deliverance, but for the realization of Israel's hope it was necessary to look beyond the messianic era to the saving age to come.

The evidence which supports this reconstruction may be presented broadly from two points of view. There is, first, evidence of a messianic overtone in the course of Jewish struggles against imperial Rome throughout the first century. The humiliation which each false messiah left as his legacy to Israel called forth a reaction within Judaism which may be detected in the Rabbinic literature.[7] There is also evidence of a radical change in attitude toward armed conflict, and even toward holy war, which may be related to the reaction to militant messianism.

Josephus frequently mentions false prophets and "imposters" who appeared at various times throughout the first century, promising to those who followed them evidence of a miraculous character which would vindicate their claims.[8] To

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[7]See below pp. 284-288, 300-307.

[8]E.g. Ant. XX. v.1; viii.5,6,10; B.J. II. xiii.4f.;

judge by what was promised, the dividing of the waters of the Jordan at a word of command, or the collapse of the walls of Jerusalem, or the unearthing of the vessels of the First Temple, these false prophets presented themselves as messianic figures after the pattern of Moses, Joshua or Elijah. A succession of false messiahs appeared and gathered followers, but the movements which gathered around them usually ended with their capture and execution. Josephus' account of these pseudo-messiahs is well known and need not be repeated here.[9] What needs to be set forth is evidence from the Rabbinic material which is less known, but which complements the picture sketched by Josephus. - An example in point concerns Eleazar ben Dinai and an almost unknown figure named Amram. Both of these men are presented by Josephus as Zealot leaders who displayed unusual ferocity in their warfare against Rome and Roman sympathizers during the procuratorships of Cumanus and Felix.[10] Yet nothing which he records would lead one to suspect that these men had messianic pretensions, or were considered as messiahs by those who followed them. It

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xvii.8f.; VI.v.2; VII.viii.1,6; xi.1.

[9]See L. Campeau, "Theudes le faux Prophète et Judas le Galiléen," Sciences Ecclesiastiques 5 (1954), 235-245; W. R. Farmer, Maccabees, Zealots and Josephus (1956), 116-122 for recent treatments. For the messianic associations of the wilderness see Farmer, 120f., n.80.

[10]Ant. XX.i.1; vi.1; viii.5; B.J. II.xii.4; xiii.4.

is here that a tradition preserved in the Rabbinic literature must be allowed to supplement the statement of Josephus. The tradition occurs in a midrash on Cant. 2:7, "I adjure you, O daughters of Jerusalem, by the roes or the hinds of the field, that ye stir not up, nor awake my love until he please."

> R. Helbo said: Four adjurations are mentioned here [in Canticles].[11] God adjured Israel that they should not rebel against the Governments, that they should not seek to hasten the messianic end, that they should not reveal their secrets to other nations, and that they should not attempt to go up from the diaspora by force. For if they do, why should the King Messiah come to gather the exiles of Israel? R. Onia said, He addressed to them four adjurations corresponding to the four generations who tried to hasten the messianic end and came to grief, namely, once in the days of Amram, once in the days of Dinai, once in the days of ben Koziba, and once in the days of Shuthelah the son of Ephraim, as it says, The children of Ephraim were as archers handling the bow (Ps.78:9). Some say, once in the days of Amram, once in the generation of the great persecution, once in the days of ben Koziba, and once in the days of Shuthelah the son of Ephraim, as it says, The children of Ephraim were as archers handling the bow (Ps.78:9). They reckoned that the four hundred years of bondage began from the time when the decree was pronounced when God spoke with Abraham between the pieces, but it really began from when Isaac was born. What did they do? They assembled and went forth to battle, and many of them were slain. Why was this? Because they did not believe in the Lord, and did not trust in his salvation (Ps.78:22), but anticipated the קץ and transgressed the adjuration.[12]

The final comment, "they anticipated the קץ and transgressed the adjuration," indicates how the Amoraim understood the biblical passage. God is the one described in Canticles as

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[11] Cant. 2:7; 3:5; 5:8; 8:4.

[12] Cant. Rabbah II.7.1; cf. M. Soṭah IX.9.

"my love," who is not to be stirred up nor awakened until He is pleased to awake. God will act when the appointed time has come. It is wrong, therefore, to try to force Him into action, seeking to hasten the קץ by violence. To attempt to force the קץ is not to believe in the Lord, and not to trust in his salvation, as the citation of Ps.78:22 makes clear. According to an old Rabbinic interpretation of I Chron. 7:20-21,[13] this fact was made clear already in pre-Mosaic times by the experience of Shuthelah ben Ephraim, who attempted to force the קץ appointed for the Exodus,[14] only to be slain in battle. It is this illustration which is most fully used in the midrash, but reference is also made to others who attempted to force the קץ. Among them, according to one tradition,

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[13]According to an old tradition there was an attempted exodus from Egypt sometime prior to the Exodus under the leadership of Moses. The midrash finds reference to this first exodus in I Chron. 7:20-21, and in Ps.78:9. The Ephraimites failed, and brought disaster to themselves and their followers. See Mekhilta to Ex. 13:17 (ed. Horowitz-Rabin, p.76f.) and to Ex. 15:14 (ed. Horowitz-Rabin, p. 147); Pirke de R. Eliezer, ch. 48; Ex. Rabbah XX.11.

[14]Canticles Rabbah refers to a midrash preserved more fully in the Mekhilta, that God revealed to Abraham "between the pieces" (Gen.15:13-17; cf. Ex. Rabbah XX.11) the time appointed for the exodus. The account is unusual in its use of קץ for a time of redemption which is past. Mekhilta to Ex. 12:42 (ed. Horowitz-Rabin, p.52): "This is the night referred to by God when he said to our father Abraham: 'Abraham, on this night I will redeem your children.' ובשהג'ע הקץ לא עינבן: המקום אפילו בהרף עין: See also Mekhilta to Ex. 12:41 (ed. Horowitz-Rabin, p.51), where the account is fuller, and is used to indicate the time of appointed redemption which now lies in the past. The point is repeated that when the קץ arrives God does not delay an instance, a point of view shared by the midrash in Cant. Rabbah.

was Amram, Eleazar ben Dinai and Bar Kochba; according to another tradition, Amram, an unnamed leader in the generation of the great persecution, presumably a reference to the war of Quietus in the days of Trajan,[15] and Bar Kochba. In the light of the overt associations of messianic claims with Bar Kochba it is significant that the names of Amram and Eleazar occur in these lists. They were remembered by the Amoraim of the third century as men who had tried to urge on the messianic deliverance of Israel but who had fallen in the attempt. Presumably they too had been projected as messianic figures raised up by God to hasten redemption. The significance of the reference to Shuthelaḥ lies not so much in any tradition that he claimed to be the Messiah, but rather in his association with the sought-for redemption which came with the Exodus, and which was seen as a type of the messianic deliverance sought later by others for Israel. Like Shuthelaḥ, Amram, Eleazar and Bar Kochba had been unwilling to wait patiently for the Lord to stir, and they had sealed their folly with their own blood. They transgressed the adjuration of the Scripture in Cant. 2:7, and so brought ruin to themselves and to Israel. They are remembered with repugnance as those who did not sufficiently believe in God and His promise of ultimate redemption. This passage sheds important light on the

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[15] On the persecution under Quietus see Finkelstein, op. cit., 228-234, with the references cited there.

cursory references to Amram and Eleazar ben Dinai in Josephus, and allows the theological and historical significance of their uprisings to be seen in a fuller perspective.

In a similar manner it is necessary to properly appreciate the messianic overtones of the First Revolt against Rome, and the intensity of excitement which messianism stirred at crucial periods in the course of the Revolt. Once again Josephus has valuable information which needs to be supplemented from other source material. In Book VI of the Jewish War he seeks to summarize the several causes of the disastrous rebellion, among which is one which he underlines:

> But what more than all else incited them to war was an ambiguous oracle, likewise found in their sacred Scriptures to the effect that at that time one from their country would become ruler of the world. This they understood to mean someone of their own race, and many of their wise men went astray in the interpretation of it. The oracle, however, in reality signified the sovereignty of Vespasian, who was procalimed Emperor on Jewish soil.[16]

Reference to this prophecy is also found, with slight variation, in Tacitus and Suetonius[17] who agree in stressing its significance as a cause of the Revolt. Tacitus writes:

> The majority firmly believed that their ancient priestly

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[16] B.J. VI.v.4.

[17] Tacitus, Histories V.13; Suetonius, Vespasian 4. On the relationship between the accounts in Josephus and Tacitus with a discussion of the significance of the passages see P. Corssen, "Die Zeugnisse des Tacitus und Pseudo-Josephus ueber Christus," ZNW 15 (1914), 114-140, and esp. 115-125.

> writings contained the prophecy that this was the very time when the East should grow strong and that men starting from Judea should possess the world.

Suetonius echoes the report of Tacitus, adding that this belief had spread throughout the Orient. The prophetic passage to which reference is made may be Dan. 2:44:[18]

> And in the days of those kings the God of heaven shall set up a Kingdom which shall never be destroyed, nor shall the sovereignty of it be left to another people; but it shall break in pieces and consume all these kingdoms, and it shall stand forever.

To judge by the statement of Josephus, the prophecy was interpreted in a messianic sense to refer to a single individual who would become sovereign of the world. The establishing of a kingdom implies the anointing of a king, and to the Jewish people on the eve of the rebellion this king could only be the Messiah. This passage in itself is sufficient to lend to the First Revolt a distinctly messianic overtone,[19] but it may be supplemented by additional data.

The first movement in the Revolt occurred in the autumn of A.D.66, when a group of Zealots, led by a certain Menaḥem, seized the remote fortress of Mesada on the shores

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[18] So. C. H. Moore, Tacitus II (1943), 198. Corssen, op. cit., 122, rejects a suggestion that Daniel is in mind, but his reason for doing so is the lack of any reference to "the clouds of heaven," a reference to Dan.7, not Dan.2. His own suggestion is Num.24:17. Farmer, op. cit., p.20, n.35 takes note of the passage in Josephus, but does not attempt to identify the prophecy in question.

[19] Cf. Corssen, op. cit., 123-125.

of the Dead Sea. Armed with weapons seized at Masada, Menaḥem and his followers then attacked Jerusalem and amid immense popular excitement succeeded in seizing the Antonia fortress, the Temple area and the Upper City. The Roman garrison in Herod's palace surrendered and was massacred. With their fall, Jerusalem was in the hands of the insurgents. However, strife broke out between the Jerusalem rebels led by Eleazar ben Ananias and the provincial rebels led by Menaḥem, until Menaḥem was slain and his followers driven out of the city or killed.[20]

Menaḥem is remembered by Josephus for both his lineage and his action. He was the son of Judas the Galilean who first gave leadership to the Zealot movement, and the grandson of Hezekiah, the "rebel chief" who had opposed Herod's rule of Galilee at the close of the Hasmonean period. He stood in the great line of rebellious resistance to Roman and Herodian rule of Palestine.[21] He is also remembered by Josephus as one of the chief Zealot leaders, whose bold action at Masada and Jerusalem precipitated national disaster, and whose death was unmourned because of his overbearing and tyrannical nature. Josephus describes Menaḥem as returning to Jerusalem from Masada "like a true king,"[22] and notes

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[20] B.J. II.xvii.2,8,9.

[21] B.J. II.xvii.8.

[22] B.J. II.xvii.8.

carefully that at the time Eleazar and the Jerusalem insurgents attacked Menaḥem he was in the Temple arrayed in royal robes.[22] The description of Menaḥem in a royal posture takes on added significance in the light of the fact that in the Rabbinic literature Menaḥem is remembered as a messianic figure. In the two traditions which mention him he is designated Menaḥem ben Hezekiah, connecting him with that tradition of resistence to a foreign yoke which stems from the time of his grandfather. In both traditions there is reflection upon his name, which means "Comforter," in terms of Lam. 1:16, "Because Menaḥem, who would relieve my soul, is far away." The statements occur in the context of a discussion of Messiah's name.

> What is his the Messiah's name? The School of R. Shila said, His name is Shiloh, for it is written, Until Shiloh comes (Gen.49:10). The School of R. Yannai said: His name is Yinnon, for it is written, His name shall endure forever, ere the sun was, his name is Yinnon (Ps.72:17). The School of R. Ḥaninah said, His name is Ḥaninah, as it is written, Where I will give you Ḥaninah (Jer.16:13). Others say, His name is Menaḥem the son of Hezekiah, for it is written, Because Menaḥem, who would relieve my soul, is far away (Lam.1:16).[24]

The midrashic word-play constructed by the several schools to indicate that Messiah's name is closely associated with the heads of the Amoraic schools is not meant to be taken seriously. In contrast there is a sober note in the state-

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[23] B.J. II.xvii.9.

[24] b. Sanh. 98b. On the relationship of the statement about Menaḥem to the previous word-plays see below, n.26.

ment concerning Menaḥem ben Hezekiah, with its covert reference to his death. The introductory formula does not indicate what group projected upon Menaḥem the hope that he would bring relief to Israel, but with barest restraint suggests the frustration of these hopes.

It is probable that the statement about Menaḥem found in the Babylonian Talmud is only an isolated fragment of a much fuller discussion now found as a midrashic comment on Lam. 1:16 in the Jerusalem Talmud and in the Midrash Rabbah.[25] The midrash is introduced by asking, "what is the name of the Messiah?" to which the principal answer given is Menaḥem ben Hezekiah.[26] What is more significant is the fact that the birth of Menaḥem is in an enigmatic way associated with the destruction of the Temple. The story may have circulated at a time when it would have been dangerous to speak freely about the hopes projected upon Menaḥem. Nevertheless two things are made clear: by some Menaḥem was considered the Messiah; and in some sense the destruction of the Temple is due to his appearance upon the scene. These traditions make

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[25] j. Ber. 5a; Lam. Rabbah I.16, §51.

[26] The long midrash on Menaḥem is followed by the word-plays of the several schools on the name of the Messiah which in b. Sanh.98b. precede the single statement about Menaḥem. This suggests that the word-plays form a separate midrash complex, to which the statement about Menaḥem has been added through stichwortdisposition in the Babylonian Talmud.

explicit the messianic character of the first stage of the Revolt against Rome, and illumine the guarded statements of Josephus concerning the regal pretensions of Menaḥem. As such they afford concrete support to the general statement of Josephus that perhaps the most significant single cause of the war was the conviction that this was the time appointed for one from Judea to rule the world, a statement best understood in terms of the Messiah.

The slaying of Menaḥem did not remove the Revolt from the sphere of militant messianism. There is evidence which suggests that one of the two surviving Zealot leaders in the final phase of the Revolt was considered to be a messianic figure. This was the leader of the fierce Idumean insurgents, Simon bar Giora.[27] Simon was a man of remarkable strength and physical courage,[28] and was endowed with that personal magnetism which is indispensable to any revolutionary leader. He had played a prominent role in the Revolt from the beginning, first coming to notice in connection with the rout of Cestius Gallus in the late summer of A.D.66.[29] Both in his plans and his exploits Simon proved himself to be a man of driving ambition, first in the district of Acrabatene,

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[27]See the suggestive but undocumented article by C. Roth, "Simon bar Giora, Ancient Jewish Hero. A. Historical Reinterpretation," Commentary 29 (1960), 52-58.

[28]B.J. IV.ix.3. [29]B.J. II.xix.2.

southeast of Samaria, and then at Masada, where for a time he joined forces with Eleazar ben Jair, the kinsman of Menaḥem.[30] His ultimate goal was to establish himself by the force of arms as head of the Revolt in Jerusalem. In the winter of 67-68, when news of the loss of Galilee to the Romans and the betrayal of Josephus reached Jerusalem, the moderate priestly junta which had given leadership to the Revolt was discredited, and the city was delivered into the hands of more radical Zealot forces. Simon judged the time ripe for attack and left Masada. Josephus writes:

> His efforts to tempt them [the followers of Eleazar ben Jair] to greater enterprizes were, however, unsuccessful; for they had grown accustomed to the fortress and were afraid to venture far, so to speak, from the lair. He, on the contrary, was aspiring to despotic power and cherishing high ambitions; accordingly, on hearing of the death of Ananus he withdrew to the hills where, by proclaiming liberty for the slaves and rewards for the free, he gathered around him villains from every quarter.[31]

The statements that Simon cherished high ambitions is the first indication of the image Simon appears to have projected for himself. Is it significant that in this context Josephus refers to the fact that he released the slaves? Isaiah had spoken of the function of the anointed Servant of God, who was to bring good tidings to the humble, to proclaim liberty to the captives, and to announce the Day of Vengence for the Lord (Isa.61:1-2). Did Simon believe that divine vengence

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[30] B.J. II.xxii.2; IV.ix.3. [31] B.J. IV.ix.3.

against the armies of imperial Rome would have to be accompanied by the freeing of the captives; and that he who released the slaves was the one anointed by God to achieve the desired victory?[32]

To this point Simon's career had been one of unbroken success, and large numbers of men now flocked to his command. Recalling the description of Menahem, Josephus reports that "they were subservient to his command as to a king."[33] For a brief time, with the enthusiastic support of the officers charged with the defense of Idumea, Simon was able to assume control of the entire south of the country, including Hebron where he found vast grain stores with which to sustain his growing army.[34] However, Vespasian forced him gradually to retire toward Jerusalem, which was now controlled by the Galilean Zealot leader John of Gischala. Supported by significant elements within the city, and "acclaimed by the people as their savior and protector,"[35] civil war broke out in Jerusalem. By Nisan, A.D.69 Simon was the undisputed master of the city, except for the Temple Mount where John and his

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[32]So Roth, op. cit., 54f., concluding, "Obviously, bar Giora considered himself more than a partisan leader." The weakness in this reasoning, however, is that Roth has not considered whether the freeing of slaves to attract them to a cause was a common accompaniment of revolution in the ancient world.

[33]B.J. IV.ix.4. [34]B.J. IV.ix.6f.

[35]B.J. IV.ix.11, σωτὴρ ὑπὸ τοῦ δημοῦ καὶ κηδεμὼν εὐφημούμενος.

followers were able to entrench themselves.[36]

What is the significance of Josephus' statement that the people within Jerusalem acclaimed Simon as σωτὴρ and κηδεμών ? It seems probable that Simon succeeded in seizing the control of Jerusalem in April or May of 69 because his movement was messianic, and was able to appeal to a wave of messianic expectation which swept over the Jewish people in the year 69. During the previous year Vespasian and the Romans had crushed every major center of opposition except Jerusalem, Masada and Machaerus, and there appeared little hope of the Jews holding out indefinitely against the superior numbers and supplies of the Romans. Then unexpectedly Nero was murdered, and within the space of one year four Emperors succeeded one another. It is not strange that the Jews saw in this turn of events a sign of impending salvation from God who was punishing the "impudent Kingdom" for its assault on the Holy City and the Temple. This sequence of events swept Simon into power as the savior sent by God. Evidence which tends to confirm this reconstruction of events may be found in the Hebrew bronze half and quarter shekels bearing the inscription. "Year four . . . of the redemption of Zion."[37]

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[36] B.J. IV.ix.12; V.i.1-5.

[37] G. F. Hill, A Catalogue of Greek Coins in Palestine (1914), Pl. XX, 8-15; A. Reifenberg, Ancient Jewish Coins[2] (1947), Corpus #4-6a. These coins were originally thought to date to the fourth year of the rule of Simon Maccabaeus

The dies from which these coins were cast display the superior craftsmanship generally associated with silver coins, indicating that these coins were a substitute for silver currency. It has been argued persuasively that these coins were issued to commemorate the occasion "when Simon became master of Jerusalem."[38] Josephus, who reckons the first year of the war from the autumn of A.D.66, regards Nisan, 69 as part of the third year of the Revolt;[39] but in the coin series the beginning of the year was reckoned from Nisan, so that Nisan, 69 would be the beginning of the fourth year of the war. In the previous year silver coins had been issued, but in the disturbances preceding Simon's accession to power the treasury had been robbed.[40] The silver which remained was stored in the Temple treasury, which was controlled by John of Gischala. In the absence of silver, Simon bar Giora was compelled to mint bronze coins. The inscription on these bronze shekels, "Year four . . . of the redemption of Zion," in comparison with the silver coins of the preceding year, "Year three . . . of the freedom of Zion"[41] sheds light on the

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[38]B. Kanael, "The Historical Background of the Coins Year Four . . . of the Redemption of Zion," BASOR 129 (Feb., 1953), 18-20. I have adopted Kanael's interpretation on the messianic significance of these coins.

[39]B.J. IV.ix.12. [40]B.J. IV.ix.11.

[41]Hill, op. cit., Pl.XXX.12-14. Reifenberg, op. cit., #148. For "redemption" as a comprehensive term for the eschatological hope for Israel see above, pp.2-3,150-152.

differences between John and Simon. John strove for political freedom, while Simon was recognized as the head of a movement which was messianic and religious in character, which promised redemption for Jerusalem. In the fifth year of the Revolt, from the spring to the autumn of A.D.70, John and Simon united in a defense against Titus, and reverted to the issuing of silver coins only.[42] From this is clear that the bronze coins bearing the inscription "Year four . . . of the redemption of Zion" were issued in the year A.D.69/70 by the order of Simon bar Giora, who had gained control of all of Jerusalem except the Temple Mount. That his movement was messianic in character appears highly probable.

The evidence of Josephus, Tacitus and Suetonius concerning an expectation of fulfilment of messianic prophecy just prior to the war with Rome is supplemented in an important way by the evidence that Eleazar ben Dinai, Amram, Menaḥem and Simon bar Giora were associated with messianic hopes. The evidence supports the contention that those hopes which were projected for the First Revolt were as thoroughly messianic in character, at least for large segments of those involved, as were those projected upon the Second Revolt under Bar Kochba. This evidence needed to be assembled, for while the Second Revolt is always associated with the messianic

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[42]Hill, op. cit., Pl.XXX, #9; Reifenberg, op. cit., #145.

overtones Akiba gave to it when he recognized Bar Kochba as the Star of Num. 24:17, the messianic character of the First Revolt has not been sufficiently appreciated. It is significant that in the Rabbinic literature it is remembered as being similar in character to the Bar Kochba rebellion, and that the humiliation which came to the nation in 70 is seen as the result of a militant messianism. That this judgment is the result of reflection over an extended period, sharpened through the perspective of subsequent humiliations of a similar nature cannot be doubted. But there is evidence that even within the Jamnia period a reaction to messianism had set in as the inevitable result of sharp disappointment at the frustration of hopes which had been messianically oriented. This is nowhere stated more clearly than in the sharp rebuke administered to the aged Akiba by one of his contemporaries on the occasion when he recognized in Bar Kochba the messianic King: "Akiba, grass will grow out of your jaw, and the Messiah will not yet have come!"[43] To Akiba, the removal of the Days of the Messiah to a penultimate place released them for significance once again in the political sphere. But for his opponent, the consequences of militant messianism had led to a non-political concept of Messiah.

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[43] j. Ta'anith IV.7,68a; Lam. Rabbah II.2.§4.; cf. b. Sanh. 93b. For the conviction that Messiah does not bring final redemption even should be come, see Tos. Ber. X.9,12, where קרות הגבר is a euphemism for the Messiah.

The messianic hope is not abandoned, but it cannot be presumed so easily that its fulfilment is imminent in a time of national crisis.

It was inevitable that with the reaction to militant messianism of the kind represented by Eleazar ben Dinai, Amram, Menaḥem, Simon bar Giora and Bar Kochba there would be a reaction to war and revolt, even to holy war, as well. Josephus' statement that "warfare has never been allowed our nation; our fighting is always followed by defeat,"[44] may be discounted, perhaps, as an expression of his propagandist approach to the First Revolt. But it is not so easy to dismiss statements of a similar character in the Rabbinic corpus, several of which stem back to the Jamnia period. In the Tannaitic midrashim these statements are clustered about the accounts of the Exodus, with the Egyptians in pursuit of Israel, and about the account of the war with Amalek. The attitude toward revolt is made clear in a comment on Ex.14:1f., commanding the Israelites to turn back and encamp at Pi-hahiroth. The midrash states that Egyptian guards had accompanied the Israelites into the wilderness, and at one point ordered them to return to Egypt. To Israel's protest the answer was made, "whether you are willing or not, you will have to comply with the orders of the government."

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[44] B.J. V.ix.4, on which see Farmer, op. cit., 97-111.

> The Israelites then rose up against them. Some of them they smote, some of them they wounded, some of them they killed. The guards then fled to report to Pharaoh. Then Moses said, Turn back lest Pharaoh say that you are fleeing. And Moses blew the horn until they returned to the place before Pi-hahiroth. As soon as the horn began to blow for the return, those of little faith among the Israelites began plucking their hair and tearing their garments until Moses said to them, It has been told to me by the word of God that you are free men.[45]

The point made is that revolt not only fails to accomplish the desired end, but betrays a lack of faith in God. God has promised deliverance, and His word is to be trusted; until the appointed time, to seek to throw off the foreign yoke by militant revolt is folly. More eloquent as an evidence of the new reaction to holy war is the account of Israel before the Red Sea, with the armies of Pharaoh bearing down upon them. In the face of those who would turn and seek to overcome the superior forces of the enemy by military valor the answer is given that prayer is the one true weapon of Israel. "Just as the worm has only its mouth with which to smite the cedar, so Israel has only prayer."[46] What follows is a midrash on Gen. 48:22, which speaks of a portion of land which Jacob possessed through the use of the sword and the bow. The passage is characteristically interpreted in terms of prayer.[47]

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[45]Mekhilta to Ex.14:1-2 (ed. Horowitz-Rabin, p.83f.).

[46]Mekhilta to Ex.14:10 (ed. Horowitz-Rabin, p.92). Cf. Jos., B.J. V.ix.4.

[47]Loc. cit.

The influence of the peace-program of R. Johanan ben Zakkai, one of the survivors of the Jerusalem siege and the head of the Jamnia conclave, on this new attitude toward holy war is evident in the material. Commenting on the verse, "Then came Amalek and fought with Israel in Rephidim" (Ex.17:8), R. Joshua, the attendant of Johanan, said:

> This verse is to be taken symbolically and explained in connection with the passage from Job where it is said, Can the rush shoot up without mire? Can the reed-grass grow without water? (Job 8:11). Is it possible for the rush to grow without mire and without water, or is it possible for the reed-grass to exist without water? So also is it impossible for Israel to exist unless they busy themselves with the words of Torah. And because they separated themselves from the Torah the enemy came upon them. For the enemy comes only because of sin and transgression. In this sense it is said, Then came Amalek upon them.[48]

The exegetical basis of R. Joshua's reasoning turns on the latter part of the verse, where רפידים, is interpreted symbolically to mean רפיון ידים, "feebleness of hands" in up-

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[48]Mekhilta to Ex.17:8 (ed. Horowitz-Rabin, p. 176). For Joshua's pushing of messianism from the political to the transcendent sphere under the influence of R. Johanan ben Zakkai see M. Eduyoth VIII.7, on the function of Elijah and especially b. Bar.29a: "Give us understanding, O God, to know thy way, and circumcize our heart to fear thee; forgive us so that we may be redeemed. Remove our sufferings and fatten us in the pastures of thy land. Gather our dispersion from the four corners, and let those who judge erroneously judge according to thy word. Lift up thy hand against the wicked, and let the just rejoice in the building of thy city, the restoration of thy Temple, the sprouting of the horn of thy servant David, and the setting up of a light for the Son of Jesse, thy Messiah: for thou dost answer before thou art called upon. Blessed art Thou, O Lord, who listens to prayer."

holding the Torah.[49] But Amalek is only a thinly veiled reference to Rome at this point, and R. Joshua, who had also witnessed the horrors of the siege of Jerusalem and who had escaped with his master Johanan only through a bold ruse, is reflecting on Jerusalem's fall. He stresses that deliverance comes only through Torah-observance, not through revolt and military exploits. His master's own attitude comes to expression in a statement of the disobedience of Israel and its consequences, which clearly dates after the fall of Jerusalem:

> You were unwilling to pay the head-tax to God, a beka a head (Ex.38:26); now you are paying a head-tax of fifteen shekels under a government of your enemies. You were unwilling to repair the roads and streets leading up to the Temple; now you have to keep in repair the posts and stations on the road to the imperial cities. And thus it says, Because you did not serve the Lord your God with joyfulness, and with gladness of heart, for the abundance of all things; therefore you shall serve your enemies which the Lord shall send against you, in hunger and in thirst, and in nakedness, and in want of all things (Deut. 28:47-48). Because you did not serve the Lord your God with love, therefore you shall serve your enemy with hatred; because you did not serve the Lord your God when you had plenty, therefore you shall serve your enemy in hunger and thirst: because you did not serve the Lord your God when you were well clothed, therefore you will serve your enemy in nakedness; because you did not serve the Lord your God by reason of the abundance of all things, therefore shall you serve your enemy in want of all things. What is the meaning of in want of all things? They were out of their senses.[50]

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[49] Mekhilta to Ex.17:8 (ed. Horowitz-Rabin, p.177f.).

[50] Mekhilta to Ex.19:1 (ed. Horowitz-Rabin, p.203f.). Cf. b. Sanh. 97a, where Nehorai, the disciple of R. Joshua who lived through the Bar Kokhba Revolt expresses the failure of militant messianism to establish redemption.

The last comment is a significant reflection of the value of militant messianism and revolt on R. Johanan ben Zakkai's view. It is the study of Torah, prayer, and a patient waiting for God which alone brings redemption. A final passage which may be cited as relevant to this discussion is found in the Tannaitic midrash on Numbers 10:9, "And when you go to war in your land against the adversary that oppresses you . . . you shall be remembered before the Lord your God, and you shall be saved from your enemies":

> This refers to the war of Gog and Magog. You say it refers to the war of Gog and Magog, but perhaps it refers to all other wars mentioned in the Torah. But it goes on to say, You shall be saved from your enemies. Come and see: which war is it [of which it can be said] that it will result in Israel's victory and which will not be followed by renewed subjection? It can only be to the war of Gog and Magog. Again it says, And the Lord will go out and fight against those nations (Zech. 14:3). What follows: And the Lord will be king over the whole earth (Zech. 14:9).[51]

Only the eschatological war of Gog and Magog just prior to the Age to Come will not be followed by defeat and new humiliation, and significantly it is noted that the Lord, not the Messiah, will establish that ultimate victory for Israel. With this statement Josephus himself could agree, and find in the Tannaitic discussion reported here a close parallel to

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[51] Sifré Num. to 10:9, §76. The element of postponement of promises of deliverance, under pressure of historical reality, is exceedingly common in the Tannaitic midrashim. Cf. Mekhilta (ed. Horowitz-Rabin, pp. 134,136,144,150f.).

his own sentiment that "warfare has never been allowed our nation; our fighting is always followed by defeat."[52] It can scarcely be doubted that the experience of the First Revolt has contributed significantly to this reflection which is echoed repeatedly in the tradition emanating from the Jamnia conclave.

From the evidence of a militant messianism within Judaism during the First Revolt and of the reaction called forth by the frustration of hopes with a distinct messianic overtone certain conclusions may now be drawn. The contemporaneity of periodization and of a reaction to militant messianism is not accidental, but is related to a common factor: the humiliation suffered by Israel in 70 A.D. at the hands of imperial Rome. The continual frustration of hopes which were messianically oriented had to be explained. The explanation appears to have been formulated in terms of a fresh conception of a messianic age which could not be the time of God's definitive redemption. In contrast to the early Jerusalem Community which looked forward to the Days of the Messiah as the time of consummation and ultimate redemption, the Tannaim of the second generation judged that the messianic era would be limited in duration and significance. The hopes they entertained must wait for the Age to Come and the deliverance

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[52] B.J. V.ix.4. Cf. b. Ket.111a; Gittin 56a-57a (Johanan ben Zakkai).

prepared by God Himself. The incidence of the Days of the Messiah in the two different schemes of early periodization is thus theologically significant. To the Christians of Jerusalem, the assurance of the exaltation of Jesus which was given through the presence of the Holy Spirit in the Community heightened the significance of the Messiah whom they identified as Jesus. This heightened significance is reflected in the terms with which old hopes were brought into conformity with new realities: the consummation initiated by the parousia of Jesus would assume the character of the Days of the Messiah. To the older Tannaim of Jamnia, who smarted under the hurt of costly defeat and misplaced hopes, the significance of messianism <u>per se</u>, but particularly of militant messianism, was called into question. The reaction to messianism is reflected in the direction which periodization took in Jamnia and later, when the Days of the Messiah were subordinated to the Age to Come in terms of ultimate significance. To Rabbi Johanan ben Zakkai and his pupils this meant the removal of explicit messianism from the political realm into the sphere of transcendance, and this view is reflected within the apocalyptic tradition in IV Ezra. But a generation later the significance of periodization can be read differently, for the distinction between the Days of the Messiah and the age to come freed the political concern in messianism from the ultimate significance attached to it at

the time of the First Revolt. That is why Akiba can speak so freely, and endorse a political messiahship which is penultimate in the eschatological time-table. This interpretation of periodization is explicitly challenged by his contemporaries, but was a significant factor in the early period of the Second Revolt against Rome. In II Baruch the Days of the Messiah actually initiate the ultimate redemption, being a period in which the two ages so overlap that it is impossible from the text to discern when the Days of the Messiah cease and the age to come continues in an absolute sense.

The range of theological significance in periodization can be seen from the material which has been examined. In the Apocalypse of Weeks periodization allowed an expectation of a time in which the ultimate vindication of the elect of God at the time of the Final Judgment would be manifested in an anticipatory way, though the consummation and ultimate judgment delayed. The assurance of God's concern with the righteous is part of the theodicy character of apocalyptic. At Qumran the sense of being thrust into the final period of the present age, and perhaps the final phase of that period, was due to the conviction that the powers of the age to come were already manifesting themselves in an anticipatory way in the Community. To the Teacher with revelatory insights, to whom the Spirit had been given, it was clear that the prophetic Scriptures were being fulfilled in the experience of the Com-

munity. Periodization was the apocalyptic sectarian device for expressing a high degree of anticipation of the consummation when the Community would be vindicated and would become the Community of the Spirit.

In primitive Christianity periodization was the result of reflection upon the general bestowal of the Spirit upon the Community together with the fact of delay in the consummation. The relatively higher degree of anticipation in the primitive Christian Community as compared with Qumran is to be seen in the relative degree of awareness to the Spirit. At Qumran the Teacher <u>has</u> <u>received</u> the Spirit, and this is a pledge that the Community <u>will</u> <u>receive</u> the Spirit. Within the Jerusalem Community there is an awareness that the promised general bestowal of Spirit has been fulfilled, initiating times of refreshment in which the Community alone participates, but which may come to Israel through radical repentance. The parousia of the Messiah, who is Jesus, will terminate the present period and initiate the consummation as the Days of the Messiah. To Paul also the present period was advanced upon the eschatological time-table, and through the Spirit the powers of the age to come were at work. But it was to this period that Paul assigned the Days of the Messiah, which at the parousia would be followed by age to come in which the Kingdom of God is ultimate.

In IV Ezra the Days of the Messiah are also penulti-

mate but end in death and silence before the saving age to come brings new life to the people of God. In II Baruch the Days of the Messiah begin in this age but extend into the age to come in a true overlapping of the two ages. The powers of the age to come not only manifest themselves in an anticipatory way in the Days of the Messiah but so effectively erode the present age that the age to come breaks through in an ultimate sense in this period. In II Baruch the penultimate character of the Days of the Messiah does not materially affect the ultimate significance which had been given to this period in the militant messianism of the First Revolt. The Tannaim of the second generation, like R. Johanan ben Zakkai, R. Joshua and R. Eliezer ben Hyrkanus tended to support the non-political significance of messianism, but a generation later Akiba could again endorse a political messiahship of penultimate position on the time-table.

In the Apocalypse of Weeks, in IV Ezra, II Baruch and the Tannaitic traditions periodization represents a modification in expectation, but not an advance upon the time-table. The period of proleptic vindication, or of the Days of the Messiah yet lay in the future, beyond which was the consummation itself. At Qumran and within the primitive Christian Community periodization represents both a modification in expectation and a sense of advance upon the eschatological time-table. The relative degree of advance may be

measured by the specific degree of awareness to the Spirit within the Community, but the difference is a relative, not an absolute one. The expectation of a general bestowal of the Spirit upon the Covenanters of Qumran had been fulfilled in the Jerusalem Community, and in this sense the primitive Christian Community manifested a higher degree of anticipation of the new age than is present at Qumran. It is this conviction which is expressed when the Community speaks of times of refreshment.

APPENDIX I

THE CRITIQUE OF "THE ARAMAIC ACTS"

C-C. Torrey's monograph, The Composition and Date of Acts, was published in 1916, and it immediately attracted notice for its sustained argument that the first half of the Book of Acts rested upon an Aramaic document which could be identified with certainty. It was a tribute to Torrey's scholarly ingenuity and his vigor as a debator that the next four years witnessed the publication of a series of articles critically evaluating his argument in toto and in detail. Since Torrey's primary evidence for the supposed Aramaic Acts were instances of Semitisms and of "mistranslations" of a supposed Aramaic original his specific instances were examined for flaws of an exegetical and linguistic nature, as well as in the light of Luke's consistent practice throughout his two works. A table of the most telling criticism of specific verses in which Torrey detected evidence for an Aramaic document may be helpful for future studies of the sources of Acts, whether oral or written. Those passages marked by an asterisk indicate instances which Torrey consid-

ered "especially striking examples of mistranslation."[1]

Acts 1:2 -- G. C. Glanville, ET 31 (1919/20), 38-41. Cf. Torrey, 23.

*Acts 2:47 -- F. C. Burkitt, JBL 37 (1918), 234.
A. A. Vazakas, JBL 37 (1918), 105-108.
C. A. Scott, ET 31 (1919/20), 221.
H. J. Cadbury, AJTh 24 (1920), 447, 451, 454 n.
H. F. D. Sparks, JTS n.s.1 (1950),17-18.
M. Black, An Aramaic Approach[2] (1954), 9-10, 246. Cf. Torrey, 10-14.

*Acts 8:10 -- F. J. Foakes-Jackson, HTR 10 (1917), 354-356. Cf. Torrey, 18-20.

*Acts 11:28 -- H. J. Cadbury, AJTh 24 (1920), 451, 452, n.3.
G. A. Barton, JTS 36 (1935), 373. Cf. Torrey, 20-21.

Acts 13:1 -- A. A. Vazakas, JBL 37 (1918), 109. Cf. Torrey, 27.

Acts 13:25 -- A. A. Vazakas, JBL 37 (1918), 108-109. Cf. Torrey, 37f.

Acts 14:17 -- H. J. Cadbury, AJTh 24 (1920), 444-445, n.2.
A. A. Vazakas, JBL 37 (1918), 109. Cf. Torrey, 38.

Of the six passages which Torrey selected for special discussion as an example of striking mistranslation (Acts 2:47; 3:16; 4:24ff.; 8:10; 11:27-30; 15:7) three were answered definitively by his critics. The absence of a careful analysis of Acts 3:16 on the part of Torrey's critics is regretable, since Torrey's suggestion has sufficient plausability to commend itself to many scholars who are more critical of

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[1] Composition and Date of Acts (1916), 10-22.

his reconstructions elsewhere.[2]

In terms of a general critique of Torrey's method and its presuppositions, the most telling criticism was that of F. J. M. Vosté,[3] who called attention to the probability of error in Torrey's approach:

> Nous ne nions pas non plus que les sens obtenus par le système de 'retroversion' ne soient en général très satisfaisants, -- sans cela l'auteur ne les aurait ni inventés ni proposés; -- mais une correction qui rend le texte clair attente peut-être au texte authentique, et il paraître bien hasardeux de prétendre retrouver l'araméen primitif d'un texte grec, que l'on suppose mal traduit, et puis de vouloir tirer de cet araméen, doublement hypothétique, un texte grec corrigé. Le nouveau texte repose sur trois or quatre hypothèses, également incertaines: 1° source araméene; 2° mauvais traduction de Luc; 3° araméen reconstitué; 4° grec à lire. -- Vraiment il faut avoir l'heureux don de conviction, privilège de l' inventeur, pour préférer le texte grec nouveau à l'ancien, si difficile que celui ci puisse être. En dépit des apparences, les aspérités du roc sont moins dangereuses que la surface égale d'un sable mouvant. Et qui peut admettre que le carissimus medicus de Paul, l'auteur du troisième évangile, ait été servilement attaché à un document araméen, -- jusqu'à écrire des contresens et des non-sens?" (302).

H. J. Cadbury, in his article "Luke-Translator or Author?"[4] also criticized Torrey's methodological approach, appealing to an earlier word of caution by Torrey himself. In an essay

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[2]For an analysis of Acts 3:16 see above pp. 103-107.

[3]Review of C. C. Torrey, The Composition and Date of Acts (1916), RB 14 (1917), 300-303. From a different point of view see E. J. Goodspeed, "The Origin of Acts," JBL 39 (1920), 86-97; D. W. Riddle, "The Logic of the Theory of Translation Greek," JBL 51 (1932), 13-30. Cf. E. C. Colwell, The Greek of the Fourth Gospel (1931).

[4]AJTh 24 (1920), 436-455.

entitled "The Translations made from the Original Aramaic Gospels"[5] Torrey had found the chief marks of Luke's use of Semitic sources in the phenomenon of language, distinguishing three classes of evidence: (i) "occasional phrases and constructions which 'sound Semitic rather than Greek'"; (ii) mistranslations: "some word, phrase or sentence sounds very improbable in the context where it stands; we reduce the Greek to its equivalent in Aramaic or Hebrew, and seem to discover that the translator had misunderstood his original"; (iii) "the continual presence, in texts of considerable extent, of a Semitic idiom underlying the Greek." Of these three criteria Professor Torrey warned that the first two are extremely precarious. On his own judgment, an argument from mistranslation is particularly unreliable, and evidence of this nature is rarely convincing.[6] But, Cadbury notes, "when he comes to give his own illustrations of Semitic influence Dr. Torrey does not avoid this class of evidence. Indeed the examples on which he lays most weight are of just this kind, arguments 'from the double meaning of certain words, the ambiguity of clause division, the probability of slight corruption in the text, and the like'."[7] On specific details, Cadbury was able to cite many of Torrey's instances of "trans-

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[5] In Studies in the History of Religions Presented to Crawford Howell Toy (1912), 269-317.

[6] Ibid., 282-284. [7] Cadbury, op. cit., 438.

lation" idiom from works undoubtedly composed in Greek (447-448). But it was Cadbury's own study of the style and literary method of Luke[8] which led him to question the validity of Torrey's approach and conclusions:

> It is particularly unfortunate that Torrey has by his hypothesis excluded from consideration the unusual similarity of phrase and idiom running throughout Luke's writings. This peculiarity is abundant where no suspicion of Semitic influence exists and is plainly due to the Greek style of the author. When, therefore, a claim is made for Semitic influence in a phrase that is repeated in Luke's writings it is difficult to accept the conclusion. Thus the notable likeness of idioms which connect Luke, chapters 1 and 2, with I Acts is not due to the recurrence of the same Semitic idiom in Luke's sources (in this case in two different Semitic languages) but to the common method of the author. Indeed it is striking that the closest parallels to Luke's Semitic idiom are not in Mark and Matthew and Revelation, the other New Testament books which may be supposed to be translations, but are confined exclusively to Luke's own writings. . . . Some of the strangest of Torrey's examples repeat themselves too exactly and too exclusively in Luke's writings to avoid the suspicion of being due to the Greek writer's own idiom. (448-449).

It was not Cadbury's desire to deny the presence of genuine Semitic idioms in Luke's writings. In the first half of Acts true Semitisms are to be found especially in the dialogue and the formal speeches. But it was Cadbury's contention that these need not be construed as direct translations from a Semitic original. They are most readily explained as due to the extensive influence of the Septuagint. Where the idiom of Palestine was appropriate, the author consciously imitated

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[8] E.g. The Style and Literary Method of Luke (1919-20), 2 vol.; The Making of Luke-Acts (1927).

the Semitic idiom which was known to him from the Greek Old Testament.[9] This explanation of the Semitisms of Luke-Acts as in reality Septuagintalisms has more recently been repeated and argued more carefully by H. F. D. Sparks.[10]

Torrey followed up his publication three years later with a lengthy article affirming his position against the early criticism which it had called forth.[11] Unfortunately he did not address himself to the specific criticisms which had been directed at his conjectural emendations, but contented himself to dealing with problems of an historical-critical nature in Acts. The first of two published sections dealt wholely with the latter half of Acts, while the second dealt sharply and ably with charges of historical anachronisms in the record of both Acts I and II, raised by B. W. Bacon.[12]

So far as I can discover Torrey never sought to answer Vosté or Cadbury, nor the specific challenges to his approach raised on linguistic and exegetical grounds.

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[9]Cadbury, op. cit., 452-455.

[10]"The Semitisms of St. Luke's Gospel," JTS 44 (1943) 129-138; Idem, "The Semitisms of the Acts," JTS n.s. I (1950), 16-28. See also A. Wifstrand, "Lukas och Septuaginta," Svensk Teol. Kvartalskrift 16 (1940), 243-262; A. W. Argyle, "The Theory of an Aramaic Source in Acts 2:14-40," JTS n.s.4 (1953), 213-214.

[11]"Fact and Fancy in Theories Concerning Acts," AJTh 23 (1919), 61-86, 189-212.

[12]"More Philological Criticisms of Acts," AJTh 22 (1918), 1-23.

APPENDIX II

קֹרַת רוּחַ IN THE RABBINIC LITERATURE

The similarity of קרת רוח to ἀναψύχειν and its cognate nouns, both in content and range of meaning, make it of particular interest for this investigation. Since there is no concordance known to me which will list every occurrence of this expression it will be helpful to indicate its range of meaning from those passages I have been able to collect through my own reading of the literature.

b. Yeb. 63, "A man finds <u>contentment</u> only with his first wife."

אין אדם מוצא קורת רוח אלא מאשתו ראשונה:

b. Keth. 40, "(The matter concerns a bondslave) who gives his master <u>satisfaction</u>"

שיש לו לרבו קורת רוח הימנו:

Lev. Rabbah III. 7, "If there is Torah in a man, he should be careful not to come to sin and iniquity. The Holy One, blessed be He, says to Him, May you be blessed and may you be <u>refreshed</u>, and may the words of Torah be forever stored in your mouth."

(אם) יש בו באדם תורה וכו' א"ל הקב"ה, ברך אתא ותהיה
לך קורת רוח ושמנו דברי תורה בפיך לעולם:

j. Ber. iv. 2, 7d, "Rabbi Johanan used to pray: May it be thy will, O Lord my God and the God of my fathers that there may dwell in our lot love and brotherhood and peace and friendship and cause to

prosper our latter end, even with hope, and increase our borders with students and set our portion in Paradise and cause us to possess a good heart and a good companion, and may we rise early and obtain the desires of our hearts and may our contentment come before thee for good."

רבי יוחנן הוה מצלי ירמ" אלהי ואלהי אבותי שתשכן בפורעניו אהבא ואחוה שלום ורעות ותצליח סופינו אחרית ותקוה ותרבה גבוליגו בתלמידים ונשיש בחלקינו בגע ותקנינו לב טוב וחבר טוב ונשכים ונמצא "חול לבבינו ותבא לפניך קורת נפשינו לטובה:

b. Ber. 16, "R. Eleazar on concluding his prayer used to say: May it be Thy will, O Lord our God, to cause to dwell in our lot love and brotherhood and peace and friendship, and may Thou make our borders rich in disciples and prosper our latter end with good prospect and hope, and set our portion in Paradise, and cause us to obtain with a good companion and a good impulse in thy world, and may we rise early and obtain the yearning of our heart to fear Thy name, and may our contentment come before Thee for good."

יהי רצון וכו" שתשכן בפורעניו אהבה ואחוה ושלום וכו" ונמצא ייחול לבבינו ותבוא לפניך קורת נפשינו לטובה:

Num. Rabbah XIV. 11, "Naphtali honored his father in an exceptional degree, for his father used to send him wherever he wished, and he was diligent in his errands. Jacob thus derived great pleasure from him."

לפי שנפתלי כיבד את אביו יותרמדי, שהיה אבין שולחו לכל מקום שירצה והיה זריז במשלחתו ומצא קורת רוח ממנו:

Cant. Rabbah IV. 5. 2, "R. Jose said: Three good patrons arose from Israel, namely Moses, Aaron and Miriam; and for the sake of them three precious gifts were bestowed on Israel--the well, the manna, the clouds of glory: the manna for the sake of Moses, the well for the sake of Miriam, and the clouds of glory for the sake of Aaron. When Miriam died the well ran dry . . . and it was restored for the sake of Moses and Aaron. When Aaron died the clouds of glory departed. Then both were restored

for the sake of Moses. When Moses died all three departed, and were never restored, and the hornet did not cross the Jordan with them, and Israel had no refreshment from that day."

מת משה נסתלקו שלשתן (הבאר, המן וענני הכבוד) ובו' ולא ראו ישראל קורת רוח מן אותה שעה:

Tanchuma ואתחנן 1, "Moses said to them: Wait for me until I bless Israel since they did not find refreshment from me because of the prohibitions and rebukes with which I admonished them."

אמר להם (משה) המתינו לי עד שאברך את ישראל שלא מצאו ממני קורת רוח בעולם מפני האזהרות ותוכחות שה"ת מוכיחן:

Midrash Tehilim II. 9 (ed. Buber 14b), "God does not say, 'I have a son,' but 'Thou art like a son to me,' as when a master wishes to give pleasure to his slave, he says to him, Thou art as dear to me as my son."

בני אתה וכו" בעבד שרבו עושה לו קורת רוח, ואומר מחבב את לי כבני:

Tanna debe Eliahu (ed. Friedmann, p. 82f.), "And he said to me, Rabbi, and in what way did Isaiah the son of Amoz differ from all the other prophets that he should prophesy all the good and comforting things to Israel? I said to him, My son, because he received upon himself the sovereignty of heaven with joy, as it is said, 'And I heard the voice of the Lord saying . . . (Isa. 6:8-9).' And thus do you think that it is not the desire of the Holy One that Israel should repent? God forbid. The matter is like an earthly sovereign who had an only son in the city. He sent a messenger to him. He said to him: Slaughter many oxen and eat flesh and many sheep. And drink much wine. Sleep and be sluggish in the work of the field which needs irrigation. And why all this? When the son of the king shall go up to do with him the work in the field his father will come and find refreshment from him."

משל למלך בשר ודם שיש לו בן יחיד במדינה, שיגר אצלו

שליח אמר לו, שחוטו שוורים הרבה ואבול בשר
ובני צאן הרבה וכו" בדי שיצא בן המלך וכו"
ויבוא אבין ויצא היסינו קורת רוח:

Tanna debe Eliahu (ed. Friedmann, p. 128), "How can a man obtain his Father in heaven? He obtains him by good deeds and study of Torah. . . . To what is the matter like? To an earthly king who said to his son, My son, go and kill all the robbers. If they fall by your hand do not profit from their monies, so that men will say, The King's son only went forth and killed all these robbers only for the sake of taking the money which was upon them. When he returned, his father went forth to meet him. He said to him, Blessed art thou. May you be refreshed forever since you did not take pleasure in all their monies. Now come, and I will give you silver and gold and precious stones and pearls from my treasure house. . . . "

למלך בשר ודם שאמר לבנו, בני, צא והרג את כל הלסטים
הללו, אם נופלים בידך אל תהנה מממונן בולם וכו"
בחזירתו יצא אביו לקראתו, אמר לו ברוך אתה, תהא
לך קורת רוח בעולם שלא נהנית מממונן כולם וכו"

Tanna debe Eliahu (ed. Friedmann, p. 53), "My father who is in heaven, may Thy great name be blessed for evermore, and for all time, and may there be refreshment for Thee from Israel Thy servant."

אבי שבשמים יהי שמך הגדול מבורך לעולם ולעולמי
עולמים ותהא לך קורת רוח מישראל עבידיך:

Midrash Tannaim to Deut. 31:14 (ed. Hoffmann, 179f.), "Moses began to be grieved. God said to him, I will refresh you, 'for behold, you shall sleep with your fathers' (Deut. 31:16), and there is no other meaning to sleep but refreshment which corresponds to it, as it is written, 'for now I should have laid down and been undisturbed; I should have slept--when I would have been at rest' (Job 3:13), and it says, 'and there the weary are at rest' (Job 3:17)."

התחיל (משה) צעק, אמ' לו הקב"ה, אני עושה לך קורת רוח,
הוך שוכב עם אבי ואין לשון שכיבה אלא קורת רוח בענין

שנ' בי עתה שבבתי וכו"

Shulchan 'Aruch d שו"ע חו"מ רנו, "If a sick man said: 'Make a certain slave of mine free,' or 'I have made him free,' or 'He is free,' then they compell the heir to set him free. If he said, 'Refresh a certain slave of mine,' they refresh her and they impose upon her no work except that which she chooses to perform."

יאמר פלונית שפחתי עשו לה קורת רוח, עושין לה קורת רוח
ואינה עבדות אלא עבדות שהיא רוצה:

M. Aboth IV. 17 = Aboth de Rabbi Nathan B XXXIII (text and translation on p. 173).

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